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WITHDRAWN
H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE

NARRATIVE

OF THE

EXPEDITION TO CHINA,

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR

TO

ITS TERMINATION IN 1842;

WITH

SKETCHES OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT SINGULAR AND HITHERTO ALMOST UNKNOWN COUNTRY.

BY

COMMANDER J. ELLIOT BINGHAM, R.N.,

Late First Lieutenant of H. M. S. Modeste.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

M.DCCC.XLIII.

1842

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LONDON:
HARRISON & CO., PRINTERS,
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TO THE

REV. RICHARD BINGHAM, B.C.L.,

CANON OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL,

VICAR OF HALE MAGNA, LINCOLNSHIRE,

AND

INCUMBENT OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY GOSPORT,

THE FOLLOWING

ACCOUNT OF THE WAR IN CHINA

IS DEDICATED,

AS A

MEMORIAL OF AFFECTION AND TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM

BY HIS DUTIFUL SON,

THE AUTHOR.

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TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

A SECOND edition of my Narrative having been called for, I have taken the opportunity of throwing the Opium Question into the form of an introduction, thus enabling the reader who feels no interest in that subject to pass it entirely over, and commence with the expedition itself at page 154.

Slight errors have been corrected and some anecdotes introduced, upon the authority of the actors in the scenes described. An additional chapter has also been added, bringing the proceedings in China up to the date of the latest intelligence, and I trust to the conclusion of the affair.

Some of my friends have appeared puzzled by the word *pigeon*, which frequently occurs in the Chinese *Lingua Franca:* it means neither more nor less than *business*, a word that no Chinaman can pronounce, making it pigeoness, but more commonly pigeon. J. E. B.

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PREFACE.

PROMOTION having for the moment thrown me out of active service, I have been tempted to draw up the following Sketch of the various events connected with the present war in China.

I commenced my Narrative with the idea of bringing it before the public under the auspices of the periodical press; finding, however, that such a mode of publication would have occupied many months, while the Narrative itself must have lost much of its interest to the reader, by being presented to him at considerable intervals, and in a disjointed shape, I have been induced to let it assume its present form.

I shall be found accurate, I believe, in all the details of the transactions which I describe. In many of the incidents selected I was myself an actor; where that was not the case, and I am consequently unable to speak

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from personal knowledge, I have had recourse to the most correct and authentic sources of information.

I must beg the indulgence of my readers for any errors into which I may unintentionally have fallen. Should I, however, from the short space of time allowed me for the composition of the latter chapters, have been guilty of omission as to the names or achievements of any of my late companions in arms, I must crave their forgiveness; but should the public so far approve of my humble labours as to call for a second edition of my little work, I shall rejoice in the opportunity of supplying such deficiencies, and shall be happy to insert any additional facts with which friends may be kind enough to favour me, as well as the names, if any, of individuals inadvertently omitted.

I must freely confess I have met with the difficulties common to all travellers on examining their note-books; and probably, in selecting matter for publication, may have passed by unrecorded some circumstances which would have afforded entertainment,

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while others may have been related in which the general reader can feel comparatively little interest. I have done my best; let the critic remember

'Tis glorious e'en to fail in great attempts;

and permit me humbly to remind him that a British sailor is more accustomed to handle the tiller than the pen.

For centuries our intercourse with China has been purely commercial. It has been left to the year 1840 to open that new era, which should bring this mighty oriental nation into angry collision with the inhabitants of the western world, to whom they had been known previously only as semi-barbarians, supplying us, in exchange for our manufactures, with that fragrant herb, become now among us almost a necessary of life, and whose balmy essence fills

The cup
That cheers but not inebriates.

They, however, despising all "outside barbarians," have ever wrapped themselves up in their own pride and self-sufficiency, flattering themselves that their "celestial

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empire" was at least the *most*, if not the *only*, civilized portion of the world; while they have made even geography itself contribute to their exaltation and supremacy,—China being depicted on their charts as the central nation of the earth!

This age of darkness and ignorant arrogance must fast melt away before the present movement. It is consoling, under the sufferings which the obstinacy and perfidious conduct of their government compel us to inflict upon the people, to reflect that the contest now in progress must result in throwing open the vast empire of China to a more intimate communication with Europeans than has ever yet existed; and thus while it benefits both them and ourselves, in a commercial point of view, must, under God, be the means of elevating them from their present degradation to a state of real civilization. Above all, it may open to the labours of the Christian missionary one-third of the population of the globe!

The Chinese are essentially a commercial people immured in darkness, and all bowing

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down before the shrine of Mammon. When we consider their habits and customs, they may be said to be a mass of contradictions to all European nations,—the very opposite to ourselves in almost everything.

The facts in the following pages relating to the manners and customs of this strange and most peculiar race are recorded principally from my own observation. I am, however, indebted to the work of Mr. Slade, the Editor of the *Canton Register*, for my account of the proceedings which led to the present war. I have also found the *Chinese Repository*, a periodical published at Macao, of essential service, in furnishing information on Chinese affairs.

The memorials and edicts in the Appendix will I trust prove amusing, while they will be found to throw a strong light on the treachery and duplicity, which the Chinese authorities have without scruple practised throughout their late dealings with the British.

The rule in our language is so undefined for the orthography of Chinese names, that

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in the following pages when speaking of provinces, rivers, districts, or cities, I have followed that used in Wyld's maps; thereby affording the reader a ready means of following up the different movements of the expedition.

I must avail myself of the opportunity here afforded me of publicly expressing to Messrs. Matheson, W. Dent, Stewart, and Captain T. Larkins, with many other residents at Macao, my warmest thanks and acknowledgments for the unremitting kindness I experienced at their hands while confined there by the consequences of a severe and painful wound received during the operations at the Bocca Tigris. To Mr. Matheson I feel the thanks of the entire squadron are due; and I feel assured that numbers of the officers of the "China Expedition" will cordially unite with me in offering grateful acknowledgments to that gentleman, whose house was ever found open and ready for the reception of the sick or the wounded.

New House Gosport,
October, 1842.

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INTRODUCTION.

The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were any one to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason, it would tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled the barbarians by mis-rule; therefore to rule barbarians by mis-rule is the true and the best way of ruling them.—DAVIS's *China*.

MANY of my readers may probably be ignorant of the numerous insults that have been heaped upon the British nation, through the gross ignorance and overbearing pride of the Chinese Mandarins. I have, therefore, thought it worth while to give the following introductory account of the transactions that took place for about the space of four years immediately preceding the date of my own arrival at the scene of action, which must be considered as the more legitimate commencement of my Narrative.

The Opium war, as it has generally been misnamed, from the Chinese having taken their stand on that question, professing that to save the morals of the people the trade in that drug must absolutely be cut off, has

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raised doubts, in the minds of many individuals, as to the justness of our present proceedings in China. But neither the morals, nor the health of the subject, has been the real cause; which may more properly be found in the "oozing out of the sycee silver from the central flowery land."

It must be borne in mind that, during the monopoly of the trade held by the East India Company, many differences and quarrels arose between them and the Chinese, but on all which points the Company gave way rather than forfeit, from any feeling of pique, the advantages they were enjoying. This system could never be followed after the trade became open and the transactions with China assumed a national character; but this difference of position the Chinese never took into consideration.

We had accordingly a long series of insults to be redressed, among which were these:—our flag fired upon;—the representative of our government with our merchants imprisoned;—their property seized, confiscated, and destroyed;—their memorials and representations treated with barbarian ignorance, and their persons expelled from Canton. But

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so fully conscious were the Chinese authorities of the great benefit arising to their own country from foreign trade, that I conceive, if they had entertained an idea for one moment of the war which has arisen out of their proceedings, they would never have taken any steps that could have led to a collision between the two nations; but our having given way on former occasions made them fancy we should yield to them for ever.

A short time before the commencement of the present century, opium was admitted into China as a medical drug, and a duty was paid on it of fifty cents per lb.; but it does not appear to have been generally indulged in as a Chinese luxury at that time; though in the Eastern Archipelago, and in many parts of India, it has always been an article of increasing traffic. Probably its use was originally introduced into China from these islands, or perhaps from Cochin China; for we find that in 1781, when the Company, in consequence of the India seas being infested with French cruisers, freighted a ship on their own account with opium for the China market, Singua, one of the Hong merchants, became the purchaser, at the mo-

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derate price of 210 dollars per chest, but that he reshipped the principal part of it to the Malay peninsula. It was not until the year 1793 that the opium traders began to experience any annoyance from the Chinese authorities; when, in consequence of their increased vexations, while the Chinese pirates or Ladrones were becoming very troublesome, the traders at Lark's Bay, where the opium traffic had been long established, in 1794 loaded one of their vessels exclusively with that drug, and fearlessly moved up to Whampoa. She remained there for nearly eighteen months without molestation from the mandarins or others; and from such a beginning the trade at that place continued to thrive until 1819.

In 1799, Kielking, governor of the province of Kwang-tung, memorialized the emperor to prohibit the introduction of the drug, and the opposition became so great from the Chinese authorities, that the Company's supercargoes at Canton recommended the importation of it to be discontinued; but it was becoming to our Indian possessions too lucrative an export to be lightly given up, and each year saw the demand for opium

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increased and increasing. The depôt-ships, as before stated, remained at Whampoa, and many opium clippers were employed in the transportation of it from India to that place. These are remarkably fine vessels, selected for their sailing qualities, and make the passage to and from China against the monsoon in a comparatively short time.

In April, 1820, Yuen issued a proclamation prohibiting the drug, which, combined with the increased vigilance of the subordinates, caused the depôt-ships to establish an anchorage off the Island of Lintin, shifting to Cum-sing-moon as a more secure roadstead during the typhoon season, where the trade still flourished.

The Chinese admiral, accompanied by his war-junks, occasionally came down firing away his guns, when a shot or two from some of the opium traders warned him it was time to anchor; after which, attended by his officers, he would visit the ships, and harangue much in the following language:—"That Emperor send chop makee strong talkee, must drive away all ship, my chin, chin you, Mr. Captain; katchee anchor, makee

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walkee, my can talkee that Ison Tuck (Viceroy) all ships have go away!" The depôt-ships would then move to the other side of the island, or the admiral returned, stating he found nothing but ships in distress refitting.

These fellows were in the habit of receiving a bribe of from five to ten dollars a chest, which they would request the captain to keep back for them from the Chinese smugglers, preferring rather to trust to English honour than to their own countrymen. About once a month they would visit the ships for payment on the number of chests smuggled.

The following paragraph from the *Calcutta Englishman* of the 30th January, 1837, will put the reader in possession of the flourishing state of the trade at that time;—"Cum-sing-moon is the anchorage of the opium depôt-vessels during the south-west monsoon. It is a spacious harbour, formed partly by islands and partly by the mainland with a narrow entrance, having an island in the centre of it. Both the islands and the main are lofty, and the ships so well sheltered that, in general, they ride out even-

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the typhoons, against which no anchorage would seem perfectly secure.

"The animated scene witnessed at Cumsing-moon may well arrest our attention awhile. Of the numerous vessels of various sizes in the anchorage, several are depôt-vessels, chiefly for opium. These do not move for years, except from one anchorage to the other, at the change of each season. From daylight to sunset you see alongside of these vessels the smuggling-boats which carry away the opium. These boats are in length, I should think, from fifty or sixty to eighty or ninety feet, pulling from thirty to forty oars, and decked or hatched over, with their long masts, large mat sails, and the conical bamboo caps of the rowers, painted red, white, and blue; they are altogether very picturesque, and you behold them in every variety of situation in this busy scene.

"There are always one or two alongside the depôt-vessels, others approaching for opium, foaming along under sail as if they would dash their stems against the vessels, but suddenly sheer alongside with a skill and dexterity which are truly admirable; others shoving off with their precious freight,

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and hoisting their sails; others already pulling and sailing away for Canton at a rapid rate with their cargoes, in defiance of the celestial emperor and the mandarins. The whole scene is one of busy life indeed, for while the depôt-vessels are supplying the smuggling-boats, the clippers, and other vessels importing *the drug*, are supplying them; and launches, cutters, and even jolly-boats are engaged in the work of transhipment of opium and cotton, which last article is often unloaded here from vessels of comparatively small burthen, and sent up in large ships; collecting in this way a full freight, and enabled thus to pay the port duties that would be ruinous to those less burthensome, on which the charges would be nearly the same.

"Step on board the opium vessels, and there again the evidence of an active and lucrative trade are everywhere around you. On one side of the deck you see ranges of chests of Patna and Benares,—the other strewed with the contents of chests of Malwa, which is not packed in balls like the Patna, but in loose cakes, every one of which the opium dealer examines, rejecting many chests, per-

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haps, before he takes one. Turn your eyes aft, and you see again in one place boxes of dollars marked 2,000, others marked *sycee*, and in another place the Chinese employed for the purpose, emptying bags of dollars and sycee silver, and shroffing or examining them. The large sycee lumps are like small pigs of lead in form and size, nearly; but the brightness of the pure silver, of course, would prevent your mistaking one for the other.

"It is impossible to behold these symbols of wealth in such abundance as you do in these vessels, and so carelessly scattered about as it appears to be (only *appears*, for it is in reality well looked after), without being strongly impressed with a conviction of the magnitude and importance of the trade. The capital embarked in it is indeed very large, involving nearly twenty millions of dollars. The bargains for opium are mostly made in Canton, though a great many chests are actually sold, and not merely delivered, on board. When the opium is sold in Canton, the seller gives an order to the opium broker for the delivery; and if it is Patna or Benares, there is little trouble, and his purser or agent gets

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at once the quantity of the marks specified in his order. If Malwa opium, the latter will examine every cake, and then weigh the whole, and perhaps he will not complete half his order. For great tricks are played in Malwa, and the contents of chests are sometimes changed between the time of purchase and shipment, and a spurious article substituted,—and I have heard of a chest of bricks being substituted by the clever rogues at Bombay. A great portion of the opium is paid for on board in dollars or sycee silver; and a *kumshah*, or present, of five dollars upon every chest is paid to the commander, for him and the officers.

"It is quite a mistake to suppose, as many do, that the smuggling-boats take in their cargoes, and run them at night. The truth is, they carry on their trade, not only in the face of day, but in the presence of the mandarin boats stationed at the anchorage to prevent it, and they land their cargoes at Canton. What may seem more extraordinary to those who have paid no attention to the accounts of the Chinese government and character is, that the mandarin boats are often employed in smuggling.

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"The whole system is curious enough; but the key to the facility with which the laws of China are set at defiance, is to be found in the fact that they are many of them in opposition to the desires of the people, and that in China, what Sir Robert Walpole once said of English statesmen, is literally and emphatically applicable to every functionary in the empire, from the emperor down to the lowest mandarin,—the emperor not excepted."

Great has been the increase since 1776, when about 1,000 chests were imported; for in 1837 the imports had increased to the enormous quantity of 40,000, for which the Chinese paid upwards of 25,000,000 dollars. In consequence of this immense withdrawing or drain of specie out of the country, the government called upon the great officers to report on the best means of remedying the evil. The Chinese forgot that this might be considered as only the return of a loan; for prior to the increased demand for opium, and previous to our great improvement in machinery, by which we are enabled to export woollen and cotton goods to China, all teas, &c. imported by us were paid for in Spanish pillar'd dollars.

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Now, it is a well-known fact, all Chinamen, high and low, are in the habit of punching a small quantity of silver out of all dollars that pass through their hands; thus in a very short time reducing their value, until they assume the title of "chopped dollars," and are passed by weight. The owners of such dollars constantly cast them into the form of sycee; and thus considerable quantities of nominal sycee become nothing more than dollars in a different form. Pure sycee contains no small portion of gold, but the Chinese do not understand the art of separating the two metals.

Many of the great officers recommended the admission of opium at a certain rate of duty. Heu-Naetse, vice-president of the Sacrificial Court, says, in his memorial to the emperor,—"It will be found on examination, that the smokers of opium are idle, lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them, and are unworthy of regard, or even of contempt. And though there are smokers to be found, who have over-stepped the threshold of age, yet they do not attain to the long life of other men. But new births are daily increasing the population of the

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empire; and there is no cause to apprehend a diminution therein; while, on the other hand, we cannot adopt too great, or too early precautions, against the annual waste which is taking place in the resources, the very substance of China. Since, then, it will not answer to close our ports against all trade, and since the laws issued against opium are quite inoperative, the only method left, is to revert to the former system,—to permit the barbarian merchants to import opium, paying duty thereon as a medicine, and to require that, after having passed the custom-house, it shall be delivered to the Hong merchants, only in exchange for merchandize, and that no money be paid for it.

"The barbarians finding that the amount of duties to be paid on it, is less than what is now spent in bribes, will also gladly comply therein.

"Foreign money should be placed on the same footing with sycee silver, and the exportation of it should be equally prohibited. Offenders, when caught, should be punished by the entire destruction of the opium they may have, and the confiscation of the money that be found with them.

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With regard to officers, civil and military, and to scholars and common soldiers, the first are called on to fulfil the duties of their rank, and attend to the public good; the others, to cultivate their talents, and become fit for public usefulness. None of these, therefore, must be permitted to contract a practice so bad, or to walk in a path which will lead only to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property.

"If, however, the laws enacted against the practice be made too severe, the result will be mutual connivance. It becomes my duty, then, to request, that it be enacted, that any officer, scholar, or soldier, found guilty of secretly smoking opium, shall be immediately dismissed from public employ, without being made liable to any other penalty. In this way, lenity will become, in fact, severity towards them. And further, that if any superior or general officer be found guilty of knowingly and willingly conniving at the practice among his subordinates, such officer shall be subject to a court of inquiry. Lastly, that no regard be paid to the purchase and use of opium, on the part of the people generally."

The whole of the foregoing memorial, for

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which Heu-Naetse was degraded to the sixth rank, and dismissed from the public service, is written in a clear and argumentative style, and, according to its prayer, was referred, by the emperor, to Tang Ting-ching and his colleagues, to report on, who decidedly approved of the proposition, sending nine regulations with reference to the proposed change, and remarking;—"We your majesty's ministers, having examined the original memorial, and considered the details therein contained, respecting the evils to be removed, regard the whole as true and accurate. The request for a repeal of the prohibition, and change in the system, and a *return* to the former plan of laying a duty on opium, is also such as the circumstances of the times render necessary; and it is our duty to solicit your majesty's sanction thereof."

While these memorials and reports were urging the emperor to the wise policy of admitting opium with a tariff, Choo-Tsun, member of the council of the Board of Rites, and Heu-Kew, the sub-censor, were petitioning against the admission of the drug. Their memorials dwelt particularly on the oozing out of the wealth of the land by reason of

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the quantities of sycee and other silver that were annually exported from China. Condemning the use of opium, they strongly pressed on the emperor to make the laws more stringent against its admission, and to punish capitally all native traders.

In reply to the foregoing memorials, an imperial edict was issued, directing "Tang and his colleagues, Ke, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, and Wan, superintendent of maritime customs, anxiously and carefully to consult together upon the recommendations; to search for, and with utmost strictness apprehend all those traitorous natives who sell the drug, the Hong merchants who arrange the transaction in it, the brokers who purchase it by wholesale, the boatmen who are engaged in transporting it, and the naval militia who receive bribes; and having determined on the steps to be taken in order to stop the source of the evil, let them present a true and faithful report."

Thus were these three worthies, to use a familiar phrase, "in a cleft stick;" for they were all more or less implicated in the opium smuggling. Tang, however, who thought opium would be admitted at a duty, made a

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bold push to amass a fortune, using the most strenuous efforts against the "scrambling dragons," and other native craft, employed in smuggling opium into Canton. He engaged accordingly in the smuggling trade, sending and driving out of the river all but four boats, of which he was the owner. This produced the following lampoon from some witty Chinaman:—

O'er the impoverish'd, but broad eastern land,
Our venerable Tang holds chief command.
His favours fall on those who seizures make,
Yet in the daring game he holds a stake.
Four cruising boats his son and comrades keep
To scour the waters of the inner deep;
And in his halls having heaped an untold store
Of gold, unsatiate, still he craves for more;
While dice and women all his hours employ,
Still the fond father censures not the boy.
O, blind to reason! no distinction seen;
The good must bow to tyrants and the mean.
But leagued oppression will resistance cause,
And men's indignant hearts assert the laws.

By these means he monopolized great part of the trade, in which many British-owned schooners and boats were now engaged; nor can it be wondered at that they were so, for as much as 100 dollars were given for the

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freight of a single chest. All this was paid for by the Chinese purchasers.

Tang and his colleagues, on the 23rd of November, 1836, revived an old edict, which declares,—"That if any foreigner, in consequence of its being impracticable for him at once to dispose of his merchandize, is unable to call in all his property, and has therefore no option but to remain in China, then he must, after the foreign ships have left the port, go and reside at Macao, and place his commodities in the hands of a Hong merchant to be sold for him; which being done, the Hong merchant is to pay him the whole price; and, in the following year, he must avail himself of one of the ships of his nation to return home. If the Hong merchant and linguist suffer foreign merchants by degrees to take up their residence in Canton, they shall be severally subject to strict investigation."

On this resuscitated edict they directed that the foreigners should quit Canton, kindly allowing them half a month to make up their accounts, and pack up their effects. To this the Hong merchants replied, that they had received letters from the several merchants

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requesting permission to remain longer; some wanting three months, and others an indefinite time, which being remarked on by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and hoppo, the time was extended to four months from the 4th of December, 1836,—the date of the orders.

The governor, in his report to the emperor, corrects errors as regards the residence of foreigners; exculpates the Hong merchants from the charge of trading in opium; states his reasons for prolonging the stay of foreigners:—"Jardine's trade and that of others is very extensive, and winter is the busiest time. To order them now abruptly away would not look like a compassionate regard; but they are all ordered down to Macao."

He then alludes to Heu-Kew's report of foreigners at Macao riding in sedan-chairs carried by Chinese bearers, which is forbidden by the Chinese law, but that the Chinamen, on being examined, pleaded poverty as their excuse.

He further says, that though the poor native women and foreign families have communication with each other, it is not for

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improper purposes; and should such crimes be found to exist, the criminal will be severely punished.

He finishes his report by assuring the emperor that he is now giving his whole mind to the subject of the memorial, and that his most strenuous efforts will be exerted to put down smuggling in opium and sycee.

The merchants, as it suited their convenience, went to Macao, and the opium trade continued.

On the 23rd of August, 1837, Chin, admiral of the squadron of Fokien, and Tow, commander of the garrison of Kinmuh, &c., issued an "intelligible proclamation," which, dwelling on the foreigners paying no attention "to the laws of heaven's dynasty," whose compassion is as "boundless as the ocean," orders all the ships to quit the coast; or, say these mighty boasters, "along the boundaries of our country we shall place a thousand ships of war, numerous as the stars, and disposed in array like a chess-board. At the first call they will immediately respond;—one cannot resist a host; and it is to be feared, that when the admiral

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of the station and the commander of the garrison unite their troops, thick as the congregated clouds, you will not be able to sustain their attack. But we military and naval commanders do not wish to kill you in cold blood, without warning you of the consequences of your present line of conduct; therefore we specially proclaim to you beforehand, and if ye have any wisdom you will immediately return,—a circumstance at which we shall truly rejoice."

That they would have rejoiced, no one, who knows the Chinese, will doubt; for in addition to a paucity of courage, the authorities are held responsible to the emperor for any disturbance that may take place in their governments. That the proclamation was so much waste paper, the ships remaining at their anchorage abundantly proved; but Chin had *saved his face* by the proclamation.

On the 24th of September we find Chin again issuing proclamations to the foreign ships; while orders were at the same time issued to the Hong merchants, that certain traitorous foreigners were to leave Canton for Macao. Still delays took place, and Tang

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the governor benefited greatly by the smuggling. On the 20th of November he launched another edict, giving the opium ships a month to remove from Lintin, and return to their own country.

At the expiration of that time, the Hong merchants represented to him, that the foreigners state "they have no power over the receiving-ships, as they do not belong to them." Tang, on the 22nd of December, 1837, threatens in an edict, that he will certainly request orders from his imperial majesty, that the trade may be stopped with all those nations which have any receiving-ships, and thus bring them to submission.

Now it might be supposed from the foregoing extracts, that the Chinese have been very ill-used, and that the opium trade has been forced on them; but such was not at all the case. I must beg my readers to divest themselves of such an idea; for be it remembered, while the Chinese statesmen pencil their highly moral edicts and memorials with one hand against the admission of this poisonous drug, with the other they receive bribes and fees, levied for the secret

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admission of this baneful enchantment. Nay, they themselves, in secret, revel in all the luxury of the opium pipe; a luxury which, when once indulged in, it is almost impossible to shake off.

Tang, deeply steeped in the trade, could not escape the quick eyes of his countrymen, who are ever ready with a lampoon. The following one was stuck on his house:—

Where Yue's lands are broad, yet poor,
The venerable Tang holds sway;
His bailiffs knock at every door,
And drag both good and bad away!
O Tang! if from the drug you'd set us free,
Yourself would soon a prisoner be.

On the 2nd of December, 1837, the governor of the two provinces, Kwang-tung, and Kwang-se, refusing to correspond with Captain Elliot, the superintendent, on the conditions pointed out by her majesty's ministers, the British flag was struck, and Captain Elliot issued a public letter to the British subjects, detailing his reasons for so doing, and for his departure from Canton.

In the year 1838, the restrictions on the opium trade became exceedingly trouble-

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some; and a poor fellow, Ko Seping, was strangled at Macao, on the 7th of April, for being an opium dealer.

In the middle of the month of June, eight chests of opium were seized on the river near the factories, four of which disappeared during the operation; while the other four were handed over to the Prefect of Canton, and, while in the hands of the police, were most wonderfully metamorphosed into four chests of common earth. The dealers at this time asserted that the local government received 75 dollars per chest for conniving at the importation of the drug.

During this and the previous year, owing to these obstructions, and the activity of the officers at Lintin, a most extensive opium trade was carried on at Whampoa, without the least disguise; but on the 17th of September, an officer appeared at that place, to search for, and seize opium. The people resisted, and a riot was the consequence, in which the officer was wounded, and many lives were lost; but fresh troops being sent from Canton, the disturbance was at length quelled.

Edicts and orders were now promulgated

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in quick succession, commanding all opium vessels to leave the river; and an imperial edict published, in November, denouncing death against the dealers and smokers of opium under a new law, which was to appear in three months.

About this time, many dealers and smokers in opium were seized with their apparatus; and report says, that in the province of Hoopih the government had resorted to the cruel punishment of cutting out a portion of the upper lip to prevent their using the pipe.

Ko Seping's murder, for I can call it by no other name, to the astonishment of all the foreigners, was followed on the 12th of December by an attempt to execute Ho Lankin, a dealer in opium, and who kept a tavern appropriated to smoking that drug. As this transaction was to take place in front of the factories, and directly under the American flag, the consul of that republic immediately ordered it to be struck.

This attempt created a great sensation in the minds of the whole community of foreigners; and the first observers of the proceedings interrupted the erection of the

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cross on which the arms of those ordered to be strangled are extended in a straight line. In the mean time, the greater part of the residents assembled on the spot, and pointed out plainly, but peaceably, to the mandarins on duty, that such a thing could not be tolerated, and if they persisted in attempting to carry it into effect, they must take the consequences. After a little time, the officers, finding they would not be allowed to complete the execution, put a stop to the preparations and withdrew, removing at the same time, the instruments of death. However, they immediately executed their victim at another place.

The surrounding multitude, which had assembled to witness this intended execution, appeared to approve of its postponement as they supposed; but, unfortunately, several trifling disputes took place, consequent on the pressure of a Chinese crowd. On being driven back by some of the residents, they retaliated with stones, the showers of which "came fast and furious." Most of the Chinese excel in the art of pelting; and the merchants were obliged to retire to their factories, a promise being given that the police

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should be sent to disperse the "great unwashed."

More, however, than two hours elapsed before the police appeared, during which time, the lawless mob pulled down the walls and railings of the factories, and demolished the windows. Being emboldened by impunity, they were attempting to force the factory doors, with battering rams; when, at this critical moment, the magistrate of the Nanhae district, with three or four officers and a small body of police and soldiers, arrived in the square. His worship, stepping very deliberately from his chair, cast his eye over this riotous assembly; when three or four of the most noisy were pounced upon, and a large dose of rattan and bamboo administered to them. The effect of this was wonderful; it was like oil upon a troubled sea; the riot was over. The magistrate and his friends then seated themselves near the centre of the square, the twenty soldiers being drawn up on a commanding spot, while the Hong merchants and police dispersed the crowd. In an hour everything wore its usual quiet appearance.

It is due to the Chinese to confess that

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this outbreak was entirely caused by the rash conduct of some of the foreign residents. Most opportune, however, was the arrival of this tranquillizing force; for had the foreigners been driven to defend themselves with fire-arms, much bloodshed and loss of life must have ensued, and as they could only number a few muskets, they might have been unable to have maintained their position.

In the evening, Captain Elliot arrived from Whampoa, bringing with him about 120 seamen, collected from the merchant-shipping at that anchorage, but most fortunately their services were not required.

All these transactions were distinctly communicated to the viceroy of Canton, in a remonstrance from the Chamber of Commerce on the 14th of December, 1838. This remonstrance was answered by Tang on the 16th, who insisted on his right and the propriety of his having ordered that the execution should take place on that spot, thereby to strike terror into the foreign dealers in the drug, "and that the depraved portion might be prevented from pursuing their evil course."

"Those foreigners," he adds, "though born

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and brought up beyond the pale of civilization, have yet human hearts. How should they then have not been impressed with awe and dread and self-conviction? Can they yet put pen to paper to draw up such insane whining."

Then stating that the factories belong to the Celestial Empire, and are merely granted by the "great emperor," as a favour, he goes on to say,—"What have you foreigners to do with the question, whether convicted persons shall there be executed or not? Say you, that the ground is used as a place of exercise by all the foreigners? And is it not then a place of concourse also for the people, —the natives of the land? No daring presumption, no absurd complainings, can exceed these! They are execrable in the extreme."

Thus was Mr. Lindsay's temperate and well-digested remonstrance answered, accompanied with threatenings at the same time, that many more executions should take place; and that any "presumptuous and perverse foreigners" who might dare to interfere, should be reported by the Hong merchants, that they might be expelled.

The Hong merchants at the same time

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represented to the Board of Commerce, that in consequence of the seizure of some smuggled opium, they had been ordered to wear the cangue*, but by earnest entreaty had escaped; and, in future, to prevent the degradation, all tenants of factories were required to give a bond that they would not engage in smuggling any article in the decked boats and schooners; and further they were warned against the exportation of sycee silver.

Shortly after the riot on the 12th, the following lampoon was circulated at Canton; the individuals named in the third and fourth lines were notorious opium dealers, supposed to be screened by Tang, who is charged with receiving from them and other inferior magistrates three tens and six, or 36,000 taels† per month, for the use of the revenue vessels for smuggling. From the seventh

* The "kea," or "cangue," is a wooden collar from three to four feet square, having the crime for which it is worn engraven on it. This wooden pillory is sometimes worn for a month, during which period the wearer must be fed by others.

† One thousand tchen ought to be equal to one tael of fine silver, but from the adulteration of the coin the tael is now worth 1200.

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to the tenth line the author evidently alludes to the late attempted execution :—

In truth, there's no luck at all in Canton,
For Tinching in governor's hall is found,—
Who, of Cheih Shakwang, is the well-known patron,
And Ta Luhchuh by him rose from the ground.
The boats of Two Kwang are privily let,
For a monthly sop of three tens and six.
Poor Ho Laoukin! he strangled him to death,
Because his cash and coin could not suffice;
How was the cross all broken down and lost.
And the curtained tent quite overset and tost!
He put a tell-tale cangue on Punhoyqua,
And squeezed the pelf from Uncle Howqua.
He scared poor Fung Suhchang almost to death,
And Lew Shooluh had well-nigh lost his breath.
If we hope for halcyon days of peace to come,
Unbutton and dismiss this infamous Tang;
For if he stays one year in power,
Canton will be just like a hot cauldron.

On the 17th of December, her majesty's chief superintendent, Captain Elliot, called a meeting of all the foreigners in Canton; in his address to whom, he observes that the events of the last week must be anxiously considered by all the resident foreigners in China.

After thanking them for their general support and assistance, his excellency went on

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to remark, that the origin of the dispute might be traced to the extensive traffic in opium conducted by small boats; which traffic could only lead to the interruption of all legal trade, of suffering and loss to all those *not* engaged in it, and the daily exposure to imminent danger of every native connected with the foreigners.

Attentively considering the question, he (Captain Elliot) announced that he intended to serve notices on all British-owned boats which were actually engaged in the illicit traffic, to proceed outside* within three days; and if they failed to conform, he should put himself in communication with the provincial government, and fully express his own views on the treatment of so serious an evil.

On the 18th this notice appeared, and further cautioned all her majesty's subjects engaged in the opium traffic, that if any native came by his or her death in the course of this illicit trade, they would be subject to

* Vessels below the Bocca Tigris were called outside, in contradistincton to those above, or inside. The high Chinese officers never venture below the Bogue forts in their boats of state.

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prosecution and trial in the same manner as if they were within the jurisdiction of her majesty's courts at Westminster; and that, should any vessel be seized by the Chinese government engaged in these contraband dealings within the Bocca Tigris, her majesty's government would in no way interfere for their protection.

Gloomy had been the horizon of the China trade for some years, but at the end of 1838 it had become overclouded to a most alarming degree; though the oldest and wisest heads could not foresee the storm that was about to burst. Very probably the attempt to introduce an hospital-ship at Whampoa with the arrival of a ship in the previous year, laden with opium, had excited fears at the court of Pekin. No doubt it had been reported that the opium trade would again return to the "inner waters." Many of the foreign merchants were anxious that a stoppage should be put to the illicit trade at Whampoa, fearing that collisions would take place, and a general inconvenience to all trade ensue; but when the government and the Hong merchants were inactive, the British merchants having

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no right to control, obedience could not be expected from all, nor could any particular individual be expected to give up a trade that others might reap all the advantages.

How far Captain Elliot's notice was judicious must be left to the reader's consideration. But it has ever appeared to me that it was the duty of the Chinese government to enforce its own revenue laws, and that we had no business to co-operate with the local authorities. It had been the practice of the East India Company, established by long experience, never on the ground of expediency, policy, or other pretext, to assist the Chinese in any difficulty; and the Chinese government might and would naturally conclude, that if Captain Elliot had power to drive the boats and schooners out of the "inner waters," he could equally force the receiving-ships to quit the "outer waters," and by these means strike at the root of the opium trade in the Canton River.

To *suppress* this traffic is utterly impossible, until the whole character of the Chinese nation becomes altered. Opium they will have; and experience has proved that all the obstacles and difficulties thrown

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in the way of its introduction have only tended to increase it, and extend its use. It would be just as easy to put down beer and gin drinking in England. I much question whether there are not as many English gin sufferers as there are Chinese opium sufferers, for the opium is used by them in the least deleterious manner, viz., by smoking.

But, as I have before observed, it is not the question of health or morality with the Chinese. The fact is, our imports have given a great balance in our favour, as is shown in the following table:—

	£.
Our purchases for the year ending June 30, 1838, for teas, silk, and all other articles, amount to . . .	3,147,481
Our sales of opium, metals, and cotton, to	5,637,052
Balance in favour of British . .	2,489,571

which was generally paid in sycee, the export of which, in 1837-8, amounted to nearly nine millions of dollars.

Thus we see what was the chief and true reason for attempting to stop the trade in opium, and accordingly the edicts previously or subsequently to this year, enlarged more on the abstraction of the sycee than on the morals of the people.

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On the 1st of January, 1839, Captain Elliot published a notice, that in consequence of the provincial government having consented to communicate direct with the chief superintendent, under the seal of the Kwang-chow-foo and Kwang-he, the public intercourse would be renewed; and that the seals of his, Captain Elliot's, addresses to the governor should be broken by his excellency.

Accompanying the notice there were two letters, part of a correspondence between him and the governor regarding the opium traffic, in which he sets forth his ideas and those of the British government on the subject, and requests that his excellency will signify his pleasure to him through the proper officers.

The second letter is the answer of Tang, sent through the before-named Chinese officers, and dated the 25th December, 1838, in which the following paragraph shows that he had already taken up the idea that the superintendent could expel the vessels:—

"The said superintendent came, I find, to Canton, in obedience to commands received from his sovereign, to exercise control

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over the merchants and seamen, to repress the depraved, and to extirpate evils. Having such commands given to him, he must needs also have powers. It is very inexplicable then, that these boats having, in violation of the laws, entered the river, he should now find it difficult to send them out again, owing to his not having the confidence of all." Thus quickly did they try to take advantage of Captain Elliot's notice.

The small craft having been driven outside of the Bocca Tigris, an attempt was made to establish a line of large passage-boats between Canton and Macao, such boats to carry licenses from the Chinese authorities: but from the vexatious delays and restrictions imposed by the regulations under which they were allowed to run, they were not found to answer; and the Snipe, one of the number, was soon caught in the meshes of the law, seized under a false or erroneous charge of smuggling, and eventually broken up in the river in front of the factories.

During this month all trade was much impeded; the Hong merchants hesitating to secure the ships through fear of being implicated in any smuggling transactions that

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might take place at Whampoa, and requiring a *new* bond from the masters of ships, which, from the wording of the bond, could not be complied with.

At length the senior Hong merchant informed the foreign agents that, the ships, already arrived, would be secured under the usual bond of there being no opium on board; but that new regulations would be drawn up for the government of vessels arriving in the next season, and which regulations they "most respectfully offered up to their lightning glance" on the 16th of January.

By these new regulations they required a bond that no opium was on board, that no decked boats should be used, and that if any improper doings were discovered, they, the signers, would cheerfully submit to the penalties of the regulations, which enjoined confiscation of property with most enormous fines.

Now, I have no hesitation in saying, that with such a bond the Chinese would not scruple secretly to deposit opium in a vessel to get her within the net of the law; so that disputes and litigations of every kind would have undoubtedly taken place, putting

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us precisely in the position with China, in which we are at the present moment.

The foregoing observations may be by some considered illiberal towards the Chinese; but I am perfectly borne out in it by their new law against opium-smoking*; in the first section of which, and sixth rule, the law is thus laid down:—"Any soldier or policeman, or any of those idle blackguards who infest every place,————who shall, through malice, or a desire to extort money, themselves secrete opium in the house, that an accusation may be supported against their victim, shall, whether principal or accomplice, be held punishable under the law."

It has ever been the practice of the Chinese to try and introduce their own system of responsibility into all their transactions with

* When the difficulties arose in Lord Amherst's embassy to China, as to the performance of the ko-too, Soo and Kwang, two high officers appointed to attend on the ambassador, "hinted that even if Lord Amherst complied here, he might make any report he pleased on his return to England." Lord Amherst replied, that were he base enough to falsify the account, he had seventy-four witnesses with him, who would state the truth.—ELLIS's *Embassy to China.*

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foreigners; as far back as 1820 they endeavoured to obtain bonds not to import opium, but which attempt was successfully resisted by the select committee.

"It may," says Dr. Morrison, in allusion to the subject, "be questioned, whether the rights of the port, which usage has established, should be carelessly abandoned. If the Chinese plead usage for the maintenance of old grievances, should the Europeans not plead usage for the maintenance of old rights? People, who will not give the benefit of national law, cannot justly claim a right to the same practice as those who throw their courts and their laws and their lawyers open, to be employed by any or by everybody. When China shall give what European nations give to each other, then may she exact what they exact of each other."

During January most extraordinary excitement prevailed, the local government stating that their proceedings to all traffickers in the drug would be guided by "stern severity." Many innocent people were seized by the police for the purpose of being squeezed; and rumour asserted that a general search of the shops and houses in Canton was to be made.

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On this, popular assemblies took place, and it became requisite for the local magistrates to announce by proclamation that nothing of the sort was contemplated. But so little confidence has one Chinaman in the assertion of another, that the gates of the streets were repaired lest the search should be attempted, the people having resolved to resist any such act.

On the 21st of January a "fire express*" arrived at Canton, by which Lin Tsihseu, commonly known to us as Lin, the governor of Hookwang, was announced to have been invested with the powers and seals of an imperial envoy, and directed to proceed post-haste to the province of Kwang-tung to investigate the affairs of the seaports of that province. The same day Tang, the governor, and E, the lieutenant-governor, received a despatch from the privy council, recapitulating the appointment of Lin, calling on them to "scrub

* The fire express travels at six hundred *le* per day, and the post-haste express at four hundred. About three *le* are equal to one English mile: these expresses are carried by inferior mandarins on horseback.

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and wash away the filth," and directing Tang to consult with Lin on the best method for stopping the evil.

Simultaneously with these, Tang and E published a proclamation to all foreigners, which commences by praising the bounty and goodness of the head of the Celestial Empire in allowing foreigners to trade with China; goes on to state that it is utterly impossible they can exist without such trade; that if the opium ships are sent away, the rest may continue, but that if they stubbornly remain there, the ports should be shut:—"The tea and rhubarb of the inner land will not be permitted to leave the country; and thus may we instantly hold the life of any foreigner at our command."

Dreadfully alarmed were these worthies at the appointment of Lin, and the Hong merchants and others looked on it with anything but complacent feelings. The high commissioner was known as a violent opposer to the admission of opium on any terms, and as a bigot to all the ancient laws and customs of China, for which he was highly admired by numbers of his fellow-citizens.

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A further consequence of these strict orders from Pekin, was the closing all the northern entrances of the factories, commonly known as the back doors, and which had been opened after the great fire in the suburbs of Canton in 1821, when the factories were burnt.

About this time there appeared a memorial to the emperor on the opium and sycee question from Keshen, viceroy of Petche-li, by whom we were, about a year and a half afterwards so completely bamboozled. That he is one of the most acute and wily of Chinese statesmen is, I believe, generally acknowledged; and that he was fully aware how utterly incapable China was of contending against the British power, his subsequent memorials to the Emperor have proved.

This memorial affords but a very poor idea of Chinese literature, when we find the most talented of her children writing such absurd nonsense. He falls into the most gross mistakes in his calculations, asserting that in thirty or forty years, the use of opium has been the means of "several thousand myriad myriads of taels leaking out to the distant foreigners." Now this is a prodigious error;

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for at ten millions per year, it would only amount to four hundred millions in forty years.

It would appear inconceivable that such a miscalculation could be any other than wilfully made to mislead his celestial master, did we not find this same learned and talented mandarin *pencilling* in continuation the following most extraordinary nonsense:—"again, in reference to the foreign money which these said foreigners bring, it is all boiled with, and reduced by quicksilver. If you wrap it up, and put it past for several years without touching it, it will become moths and corroding insects, and their silver cups will change into feathers or wings. Their money is all of this species: and if we leave it for four or five hundred years, I'm sure I don't know what it will change into at last!"

Again, he says, alluding to our demand for tea and rhubarb:—"The reason of this is, that their climate is rough and rigorous, the sun and wind both fierce and strong; day by day they subsist on beef and mutton; the digestion of this food is not easy; their bowels are bound up, and they speedily die;

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therefore it is, that every day after meals they partake of this divine medicine in order to get a motion of their bowels."

To remark on these paragraphs would be to insult the understanding of my readers. He ends his memorial by advising the emperor to forbid all foreign trade, until the opium traffic is by these means completely stopped; to deal mildly with opium smokers, amongst whom will be found civilians and soldiers; the rich, who take delight in doing good; clerks in public offices; "perhaps the most beautiful, the most refined, the most accomplished of our women! and perhaps virtuous widows, chaste as the icicle itself;" with husbandmen, mechanics, and merchants. "If such," says he, "are for the mere whiffing of a pipe of opium, to fall into the net of the law, then the clanking of their bonds and fetters will be heard in every highway; the prisons will be so crowded as not to leave an inch of space."

Notwithstanding all these pleadings, blood was the order of the day, and the deed which the Chinese had been prevented from committing at midday on the 12th of December, 1838, was hurriedly, and I may say, almost

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secretly, carried into effect on the 26th of February, 1839. A poor wretch, Fung Angan, one of the ringleaders at the late affray at Whampoa, in the afternoon of that day, when but few foreigners were on the spot, was brought into the factory square, and there strangled; the officer attending the execution departing as rapidly as he came;—a few minutes sufficing to end the whole affair.

This cruel exhibition, this wanton invasion of the foreign factory grounds, must be execrated by all; and the feeling of the residents was speedily shown by the immediate hauling down of the national flags, which were usually displayed before the different Hongs.

On the 4th of March, Captain Elliot addressed a firm remonstrance to Tang on the subject of the late execution, requiring that his excellency should issue directions prohibiting any such matter taking place there in future.

To this the governor did not deign to reply; probably the expected arrival of Lin caused him so much anxiety respecting his late opium dealings, that he could not concoct an answer. For it appears that Lin had

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already written a letter to him, directing the seizure of a great number of officers and police runners, as parties criminated by their opium doings, and the military governor of Canton was said to be amongst the number. Many of those most open to accusations escaped; but on the commissioner's arrival the chief of the police at Macao was arrested and ample confessions extorted from him, involving, it was said, many of the magistrates of the surrounding districts.

The naval officers at the Bocca Tigris thought he might perhaps begin with them; and the admiral actually sent a deputation to Macao, to try and prevail upon the masters of the opium ships to "sail away." Gradually these apprehensions subsided, as it became evident that Lin did not intend to punish the instruments, whose aid he might require in his future operations. Many of those who had been most deeply engaged in the traffic, purchased small quantities of opium and delivered it up, as having been seized by them.

That the eunuchs about the palace were very extensive dealers in the drug, the many severe edicts show; and in no port was the

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smuggling easier than at Tien-sing, about ninety miles south-east of Pekin. Most ample lists of all those engaged in the traffic were possessed by the influential men in the celestial city. In fact, connivance was purchased from them by the disclosure of the names of all those employed as contrabandists; so that when wanted, they could be *squeezed* to fill the pockets of their superiors, or strangled to evince the vigilance of some great man, and to exhibit the rigour of the law. The emperor himself is accused of having been in former days an admirer of the now-forbidden pipe.

Lin's appointment and expected arrival created a great sensation at Canton; his known stubbornness of character, his love for the old laws, and his unlimited powers, made the Hong merchants fear a rupture; and his first steps after his arrival on the 10th March, were not calculated to allay the alarm; for on the 18th he issued a proclamation, specially addressed to the foreigners at Canton; on the heels of which followed one from the Hoppo, forbidding foreigners going to Macao.

Lin, in the above-named edict, assures them that he has been sent down with "irre-

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sponsible authority to prevent the influx of opium;" that he has sworn to stand or fall by the opium question; and that he will put down the bringing in the drug, and that to do so effectually, he will call out, if necessary, the whole land and sea force against such foreigners as may attempt to introduce it: and he further threatened that he would incite the common people to arise and utterly annihilate them! A threat never before heard of in the annals of any nation claiming to have an established government, or pretending to civilization; but it is on a par with the absurd boast of his irresponsible power, by which he implies that the lives and property of the foreigners were at his mercy.

He commanded all the opium in the ships to be given up to his officers, and that all foreigners should enter into a bond that no ships should bring opium; and that if any one did, her whole cargo should be confiscated, and her people put to death;—"and that they will willingly undergo it as a penalty of their crime." For conformity with these rules three days were allowed.

This edict naturally excited the indignation of foreigners, and required their instant

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attention to the safety of their threatened liberty, property, and lives.

The Hong merchants, under Lin's directions, visited the principal merchants to ascertain what offensive and defensive weapons they possessed, which, combined with the Hoppo edict before alluded to, showed in the high commissioner a determination, confirmed by his subsequent acts, to carry out his threats.

A deputation on the 19th met the Hong merchants at the Consoo-hall, where a conversation took place as to the giving up the opium, but which the deputation declined answering at the present moment.

To a question, as to the probable amount of compensation that would be given by the Chinese government, should the opium be surrendered, the Hong merchants replied by referring to the present low price, and supposed that a portion of such low price would be gladly accepted.

At the same meeting an edict from Lin to the Hong merchants was translated. In it he reproaches them for conniving at the smuggling trade, upbraids them for want of dignity in their visitings and transactions with foreigners, and winds up by threaten-

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ing to decapitate one or two of their number.

When Lin first arrived, he received the Hong merchants seated behind a yellow satin screen, with the imperial arms embroidered thereon, the Hong merchants being on their knees, with their foreheads touching the ground. On one occasion he kept them six hours in this position, while asking them questions. Afterwards he allowed Howqua, in consequence of his great age,—to which much respect is paid in China,—to be seated on a *low* chair, but still sufficiently distant to mark their difference of rank.

The general Chamber of Commerce was convened on the 21st; and, after some debating, an answer to the following purport was returned to the Hong merchants:—"That the communications made by the commissioner were of such vital importance, and involved such various interests, that it was not possible to give a hurried reply; but that they should be taken into consideration, and an answer returned at the earliest possible period. At the same time they, the foreigners, were almost unanimously of opinion that it was absolutely necessary that

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they should have nothing to do with the opium traffic."

On this communication being made to Lin, he declared nothing would satisfy him but the delivering up of the opium; and that if this demand was not complied with instanter, he would, on the morrow, sit in judgment on the Hong merchants, and decapitate two of their number.

On this reply being known, an extraordinary meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was convened at ten o'clock at night, to take this reply into consideration. It was speedily agreed to request the attendance of the Hong merchants; in compliance with which the following parties, Howqua, Mowqua, Puankhequa, Samqua, senior and junior Poonhoyqua, Mingqua, Gowqua, Saoqua, Yetuck, Fontai, and Kinqua, very shortly afterwards arrived. On being questioned as to what passed between them and the imperial commissioner, they stated, that on their presenting the words of the merchants' letters, he said,—"They are trifling with the Hong merchants, but that they should not do so with him: he declared, that if opium was not given up, he should be at the Consoo-

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hall to-morrow, at ten o'clock, and then he would show what he would do."

The Hong merchants thought, that if one thousand chests were given up, Lin would be satisfied, and believe his order had been obeyed; but they could not guarantee such result, or that the trade might proceed without molestation. And they further added, that if the opium, the actual property of the residents, was given up, they could not venture to secure that what belonged to their consignees would be allowed to be taken away.

After an animated debate it was resolved, that in consequence of the threat held out against the Hong merchants, one thousand and thirty-seven chests of opium should be surrendered to the government to be destroyed. This quantity was to be supplied by joint contributions, a solemn protest against the acts of the commissioner being at the same time delivered with it.

It is to be deeply regretted, that this meeting allowed their fears for the lives of the Hong merchants to be worked upon, and that they should have permitted themselves to be driven into a contradiction of

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their morning statement, "that they could not decide on such matters without time." Besides, if the commissioner had the right to force them to deliver up one *single catty* of opium, he had clearly an equal right to make them surrender all that was in the river. And was it not in some degree a tacit acknowledgment, that all the accusations and insulting assertions of the commissioner were correct? The bad effect of thus yielding was soon felt. Indeed, the very hurried meeting of the Chamber of Commerce had operated badly on the mind of the violent and tyrannical Lin, who by it fancied he saw the agitation his steps had produced amongst the "barbarians;" and imagined that a little *harder squeeze* would make them obedient.

On the morning of the 22nd, the Hong merchants went into the city to make the foregoing offer; they were received by the Governor only, and assured that the quantity offered was not sufficient. It was rumoured that 4,000 chests would be the quantity required to be given up; and Mr. L. Dent was prevailed upon by the Hong merchants, to promise to accompany them into the city on the next day, the imperial commissioner

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wishing, it was said, to have a personal interview with him. However, the treatment of Mr. Flint*, and the general treachery of the Chinese, being recalled to Mr. Dent's recollection, combined with the fact that the Imperial commissioner had secured the services of two cooks, who had been long employed by foreigners, whence the inference was naturally drawn, that he contemplated detaining Mr. Dent as a hostage, he therefore rescinded his promise, unless a safe-conduct should be given him, under the commissioner's hand and seal, he being the only irresponsible officer then present in Canton.

March the 23rd. In the forenoon of this day, the two senior Hong merchants, Howqua and Mowqua, having a small loose iron chain thrown over their heads and resting on their shoulders, and accompanied by the rest of their order, all without their official buttons, proceeded to Mr. Dent's house, and stated to him, that if he did not obey the commissioner's summons, and go into the city during the day, the two seniors above named would be beheaded before night.

* See DAVIS's *China*.

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Mr. Dent firmly adhered to his refusal, unless the required safe-conduct were sent to him. A meeting, however, was convened in the hall of the British consulate, to consider the point. But Mr. Johnston, the second superintendent, refused Howqua and Mowqua admission in their felonious and degraded state; the meeting was adjourned to the Chamber of Commerce, where Howqua again stated, that his head would be taken off, if Mr. Dent still persisted in his refusal.

After the chamber had pointed out to Howqua, that they had no power over Mr. Dent's actions, he proposed, that all present should proceed to Mr. Dent's residence, which they accordingly did.

While this was going on, other foreign merchants were at the Consoo-hall, holding a verbal communication with the Kwang-chow-foo; on their quitting which, Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, was detained a prisoner for nearly two hours; nor was he liberated, until Mr. Johnston had made an application to that purpose.

When Howqua and his party had arrived at Mr. Dent's house, it was solemnly put to the foreigners present, whether Mr. Dent

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should proceed inside the city, without waiting for the protection of the commissioner's own chop and seal, to which the unanimous answer was in the negative. That determination was communicated to the Hong merchants; shortly after which a Weiyuen, or deputed officer, accompanied by certain Chinese magistrates, came to Mr. Dent's office, who, attended by Mr. Thom as interpreter, and the foreign merchants, received them. The representation which he made was, that in visiting Mr. Dent, he was exceeding the instructions which had been given him, for he had been positively ordered to convey Mr. Dent before the commissioner; and by representing the danger to which he thus exposed himself, he endeavoured to work on his (Mr. Dent's) feelings, and prevail on him to accompany him.

This officer was thanked for his civility in waiting on Mr. Dent, and for the manner in which he had executed his orders; and he was further assured, that no disrespect was intended to the commissioner, by Mr. Dent's refusal, but that it arose from the general wish that Mr. Dent should not enter the city without a guarantee under the commissioner's

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own hand. If he should be taken by force no resistance would be offered; and after this representation, Mr. Dent retired.

The conversation continued with the foreigners and the Weiyuen, on whom Mr. Dent waited a second time at his, the Weiyuen's, request, but without any intention of repairing to the city, unless the required guarantee were first given. This officer then stated that he would spend the night in Mr. Dent's house, and never leave it without him; on which he was assured, if he continued in that mind he should be treated most hospitably. Finding all his arts of persuasion fail, he proposed that the second partner should accompany him to the Consoo-house, and in person acquaint the Kwang-chow-foo with Mr. Dent's refusal. This was immediately agreed to, when Mr. Inglis, accompanied by four other gentlemen, proceeded to the Consoo-house. As soon as the Kwang-chow-foo became aware of Mr. Dent's refusal, fearing probably the ire of Lin, he proposed that the deputation should proceed into the city, and in person deliver the refusal to the commissioner.

This was also agreed to, when the cortége,

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accompanied by the linguist, proceeded through the Choo-lan gate to the temple of the Queen of Heaven, and there seated themselves in the outer court, but were shortly afterwards introduced to the private apartments of the priests, where they were served with sweetmeats and tea.

After some delay, four high officers* entered the apartment and took their places in front and close to each other, while the Kwang-chow-foo and the Weiyuen, being of inferior rank, were seated on a side bench.

Mr. Thom was now sent for, and questioned by these mandarins as to his name and country; then why Mr. Dent did not come, to which Mr. Thom gave the reasons before stated. On this they accused Mr. Dent of the greatest disrespect in not coming; in reply they were assured nothing of the sort was intended. They threatened, however, that if Mr. Dent still persisted in his refusal, he should be dragged out of his house by force, when the high commissioner would most assuredly kill him; but that if Dent

* The treasurer, judge, salt commissioner, and grain inspector.

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would willingly come and see the high commissioner, the trade would be reopened. They asked Mr. Thom, "if their trade was not very dear to the foreigners?" His immediate reply was, "Yes, but Mr. Dent's life is dearer." On this the Hong merchants clapped their hands, exclaiming, "Well said." The other gentlemen were questioned much to the same purpose.

Their examination being over, the treasurer, agreeable to Chinese custom, sent out a present of four pieces of silk and two jars of wine to them, and then the deputation, guarded by a party of the Kwangkeep's troops carrying many lanterns, was conducted back to the Consoo-hall.

At midnight the Hong merchants again visited Mr. Dent, urging their request and the commissioners commands; but on Howqua being reminded that the following day was the sabbath, the foreigners' day for religious worship, he at once acceded to suspending the discussion.

Early in the morning of the 23rd, Captain Elliot's circular, which had been issued at Macao on the previous day, was received at Canton, setting forth that, in consequence of

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her majesty's subjects being detained against their wills, and from other urgent reasons, all confidence in the moderation of the provincial government had ceased; he therefore required all British-owned ships at the outer anchorage, to proceed to Hong Kong bay, and to be prepared to resist any act of aggression.

On the same day the superintendent himself, feeling it his duty to throw himself between the local government and the merchants, proceeded in the Louisa cutter towards Canton, quitting her at the fort below, on the evening of the 24th, in one of the boats of her majesty's ship Larne, to which the Chinese guard-boats gave chase, with the apparent intention of trying to capture him. In this attempt they were foiled by the Chinese porter, who unlocking and throwing the gates wide open, gave Captain Elliot a free entrance to the hall of the British consulate.

Directions were immediately given to hoist

> The flag that brav'd a thousand years
> The battle and the breeze;—

and a public meeting of all foreigners was by verbal notice at once assembled. Captain

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Elliot then recapitulated the reasons he had for withdrawing all confidence in the local authorities; and stated, that he would demand passports for such of her majesty's subjects as might think fit to proceed outside, within the space of ten days from the date of his application reaching the government. He urged them all to prepare for moving their property on board the ships at Whampoa, and to forward to him sealed declarations with statements of all claims against the Chinese, together with estimates of all losses accruing from their present treatment. He further made it known, that should their passports be refused for more than three days, he should be driven to the conclusion that they were detained as hostages, with the view of compelling them to make unsuitable concession,—and, in fact, the event proved that such was the object; the notice ended by offering all the assistance in his power to the gentlemen of all nations at Canton.

Captain Elliot then addressed a few words to the meeting, in which he exhorted them all to unanimity and moderation. "I will," exclaimed he, "remain with you to my last gasp. Thank God, we have a British man-

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of-war—small indeed she is—outside, commanded by a British officer."

Both the notice and address were received with cheers, and Mr. Matheson expressed on behalf of the meeting their best thanks, stating that from what he knew of the general feeling, all were impressed with the necessity of union and moderation.

The scene that followed the arrival of Captain Elliot is thus graphically described in the *Chinese Repository*:—

"No sooner had Captain Elliot landed, than alarm spread rapidly, and orders to close every pass around the factories resounded from post to post among the police. In a few minutes, the public square was cleared of all natives; the entrances to it closed and guarded; the door of the hongs, which on the two preceding nights had been watched by a few coolies, were now thronged with large companies of them, armed with spears, and provided with lanterns; a triple cordon of boats was placed along the banks of the river, before the whole front of the factories, filled with armed men; soldiers were stationed on the roofs of the adjoining houses; and to close the scene,

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orders from the commissioner were given for all compradores and servants to leave the hongs. By about nine o'clock at night, not a native was remaining in the factories, and the foreigners, between two and three hundred in number, were their only inmates. Canton, or at least that part of it adjacent to the factories, was now virtually under martial law. Patroles, sentinels, and officers, hastening hither and thither, with the blowing of trumpets and the beating of gongs, added confusion to the darkness and gloom of the night. Had there been only a little more excitement the factories might have become another 'Black Hole,' or a scene of indiscriminate slaughter. In the course of the evening, some communication was made by Captain Elliot to the local authorities, supposed to be a demand for passports in accordance with his public notice of the preceding day."

Monday the 25th was devoted by the Chinese to completing their arrangements for the safe custody of the foreigners. Rafts were constructed and moored across the river abreast of Howqua's and the Macao passage forts, to guard against the arrival of

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armed boats from the shipping at Whampoa. All intercourse with Macao was cut off, not the smallest parcel or letter could be conveyed, and one boatman, it was generally believed, was executed for being found to be the bearer of a letter from a foreigner.

No food, no, not even a bucket of water, was allowed to be brought into the factories. The cooking, washing, milking cows, with all other domestic duties, had to be managed in the best way those not accustomed to perform these minutiæ of life could devise. At night the Chinese took possession of a boat belonging to the George the Fourth, merchant ship, and which had been hauled up high and dry in front of the Creek hong.

Tuesday, the 26th brought no relief to the prisoners; but the gallant defenders of their country, the armed coolies, with due consideration for their own comfort, erected bamboo sheds to protect themselves from the sun; and companies, composed of parties of boatmen, porters, and other labourers, under the command of subaltern officers, marched round and round the square, manœuvering like boys at a mock training. At night the Hong merchants directed the pleasure-

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boats belonging to the British merchants to be dragged into the factory-square, and turned keels up.

A proclamation from Lin was posted on the walls of the superintendent's house, and on Minqua's hong, in consequence of which the chief superintendent issued a notice setting forth that he, together with all the foreigners in Canton, were forcibly detained by the provincial government, and that he was commanded by the high commissioner, under his official seals, to deliver into his, the commissioner's hands, all opium held by the people of his, Captain Elliot's, country; he, therefore, called upon all her majesty's subjects to surrender all the British-owned opium in their possession, to be delivered over to the Chinese government, sending to him without delay sealed lists of the quantity held by each; and he, Captain Elliot, further engaged to hold himself responsible, on the behalf of the crown, for the value of the same, provided it was surrendered by six o'clock of that day.

This requisition was promptly complied with; it may, however, perhaps be matter of doubt whether Captain Elliot did not fall

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into error in receiving that which was consigned to American agents; as it surely ought to have been surrendered by the consul of that republic; since by those means the Americans would have had their proper share of the odium thrown on this particular traffic.

Lin now issued several edicts relative to the delivering up of the drug, and replied to Mr. King, an American merchant, who petitioned that his commercial proceedings might be allowed to go on, as he had never been directly or indirectly engaged in the opium trade, that he was aware of that circumstance, but that Mr. King ought to have prevailed on all the other foreigners to give up their opium; which, if they would do, commerce should go on as usual, otherwise for a single individual he could not change his "great plans."

There is no doubt that Lin was much astonished at the effect of his measures, and at the enormous booty, amounting to 20,283 chests, which he was about to obtain; and that in consequence of its unexpected magnitude, he wrote to Pekin for further instructions, and proposed sending the plundered

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opium to the capital; for we find the emperor replying that he was satisfied of the truth of Lin's report; but that as the distance was so great, and the expense of carriage would consequently be extremely heavy, Lin should take steps for its destruction.

On Good Friday, the 29th of March, divine service was performed in the factories; and on this day the coolies were brought into the Hongs by the linguists to draw water; an office which many of the gentlemen had been under the necessity of performing for themselves since the 24th instant; but on the evening of this day, the remaining pleasure-boats, which had been before spared, were hauled up into the centre of the square.

On Saturday, Lin demanded that 10,000 chests should be given up within ten days; in reply to which he was informed that exact compliance was impossible, as the whole quantity surrendered to the British government, though it should ultimately be delivered up to his excellency, was not then in the Chinese waters.

On the same day the commissioner sent a present of sheep, pigs, fowls, &c., to the

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British superintendent, acceptance of which was very properly declined. The Hong merchants, at the same time, sending similar supplies to the foreign residents; by some of whom they were accepted, and by others rejected.

On the 31st, the linguists took upon themselves the part of compradores, and supplied provisions, for which they of course were paid.

Lin, before he would release one of the hostages out of his clutches, became very urgent for the surrender of the 20,283 chests which Captain Elliot had stated should be given up. On Captain Elliot's applying for Mr. Johnston, the second superintendent, to be allowed to go outside to collect the vessels together, from which he might obtain the opium, Lin argued that Captain Elliot having, as it appeared, the power to compel the merchants to surrender the opium, must of course equally have the power to require them to sign orders for its surrender*; "therefore he stated that it was unnecessary

* When opium was formerly purchased by the smugglers at Canton, they gave the purchasers orders to receive the proper quantity from the depôt-ships.

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that Johnston should go outside;" in fact, it was quite evident that Lin did not intend to let any of them be released until he had got possession of the drug.

On the 1st of April a notice in the English language, from Howqua, Mowqua, and the Hong merchants, was appended to the garden-gate of the British consulate, warning the foreigners not to tempt any natives to serve in their dwellings, which might be searched by the mandarins, when, if any natives were found, they would most assuredly be put to death; in which case they should consider the shedding the blood of such natives as attributable to them.

Now, really, if old Howqua could be guilty of making what we jocularly term an "April fool," one would imagine he was trying to do so with all the residents; because if legally put to death, such natives would suffer for disobeying a Chinese law; and if illegally, their blood would be most assuredly upon the heads of their unjust judges, certainly not on those of their employers.

On the 3rd, Captain Elliot announced that the following arrangements had been made for the delivery of the opium, and to

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which the high commissioner had agreed, viz.: "that the compradores and servants should be restored after one-fourth part of the whole quantity had been delivered; that the trade should be opened after three-fourths had been given up; and that every thing should proceed as usual after the delivery of the whole; (the signification of which last expression her majesty's superintendent professed he did not understand;) that any breach of faith,—and his excellency, not unnaturally, is pleased to suppose that breach of faith may be possible,—should be visited after three days of loose performance of engagements, with the cutting off of supplies of fresh water; after three days more, with the withholding provision; and after three days more, with the last degree of severity on Captain Elliot himself." Here is a pretty distinct threat against the life of her majesty's representative.

Captain Elliot made no remarks on these threats, but contented himself with urging on the community the necessity of enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the commissioner; the honour of the nation depending on the scrupulous good faith with which he

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fulfilled them. And nobly did they respond to him: for it being found that in consequence of the sailing of some vessels while the discussion was pending, the whole quantity could not be made up, Messrs. Matheson and Dent came forward and purchased the required quantity, taking bills from Captain Elliot on the home government for the amount. These bills were refused when presented for acceptance, but were ultimately paid by Captain Elliot with part of the Canton ransom.

On the evening of Wednesday, the 3rd of April, the second superintendent, with Mr. Thom, as Chinese interpreter, attended by the Hong merchants and linguists in a chop-boat escorted by Chinese officers, proceeded to Macao to superintend the surrender of the opium from the ships at the outside anchorage.

On the 5th the following "sweet," or voluntary bond, was presented by the Hong merchants to the committee of the Chamber of Commerce, who, on receiving it, adjourned until Monday, the 8th April. As much has been said respecting it, I have deemed it worth while to introduce it in this place.

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"A duly prepared bond, to be voluntarily given by the English superintendent, Elliot, and deputy superintendent, Johnston, at the head of the English merchants, A &c.; the Indian merchants, B &c.; the Moorish merchants, C &c.; the ——— merchants D; and the ——— merchants, E; and the ——— merchants, F &c.; respecting the eternal doing away with the opium traffic.

"We do hereby pledge ourselves with and for the merchants of the English nation, and of the several countries her dependencies, residing and trading in the city of Canton, and who, cherished and saturated with the tender benevolence of the celestial court, have heaped up delightful gain to a countless extent; that whereas certain persons, avariciously bent on making profit, have of late years brought the smoking filth called opium into the Chinese waters, and there stored it up in receiving-vessels for the purpose of selling it; all which is in direct contravention of the prohibitory laws of the celestial kingdom. The great emperor has now appointed a high officer of state to come to Canton to inquire into and manage the

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business, and we now begin to learn that the prohibitory laws are really severe in the extreme. Utterly unable to overcome the alarm and trepidation into which we have been thrown, we reverently deliver up to government every particle of opium on board the receiving-ships, earnestly entreating that a memorial may be sent to the great emperor, praying him, in his great mercy, to overlook our past offences.

"The empty receiving-ships shall be all sent back to their countries. Elliot and Johnston shall forthwith petition the king of their country, sternly to command all the merchants tremblingly to obey the prohibitory laws of the celestial empire, which forbid the importation of opium into China, and to leave off manufacturing the drug. Should opium be discovered on board any merchant-vessel arriving in Canton, after the autumn of this year, the said vessel and all her cargo shall be confiscated to government, and she shall not be allowed to trade; and all the parties concerned shall, in compliance with the laws of the celestial empire, be put to death, *willingly submitting to their doom!* All vessels which, having sailed from their

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countries before the present rigorous prohibitions were known, and shall arrive in China during the spring and summer months, shall, immediately they arrive, deliver up all the opium they may have on board, without daring to secrete the least particle.

"We do conjointly declare that this our bond is just and true."

Of this required bond, which I am happy to say only two Englishmen were found who would sign, the Americans held the same opinion as the English, though they subsequently, for the sake of their trade, put their signatures to it. Mr. Senn van Basel, the consul for the Netherlands, having from the first refused his concurrence, has never departed from that declaration; and he quitted Canton as soon as a passage-boat was allowed to pass.

On the morning of the 6th, the back entrance of the Creek Hong was more strongly secured by the Chinese*. Great quantities of rain fell during this month, which caused a plentiful crop of spring rice; so that this

* This, with the back entrances of the Dutch, British, Fungtae, Powshun, Spanish, and Danish Hongs, had been blocked up on the 23rd of March.

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staff of Chinese existence was low in price, or great disturbances would have taken place, from the distress among the lower orders, occasioned by the entire stoppage of trade.

On Monday the 8th, the adjourned meeting assembled to take the proposed bond into consideration; when it was decided, that the chamber was purely for commercial purposes; that being prisoners in their hongs, and all trade prevented, their functions must necessarily cease until the trade was reopened; and that with this resolution the Hong merchants should be made acquainted.

On the evening of the 9th the American and Netherlands' consuls, with the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, in compliance with a requisition from the Kwang-chow-foo, attended at the Consoo-house; there being present the above-named functionary, the Poon-yu and Namhoy magistrates, and the Weiyuen, or deputed officer. In company with the consuls were Mr. King, an American merchant, and Mr. J. Fearon, as interpreter; the party being completed by the presence of the Hong merchants Howqua, Mowqua, and Samqua, with the linguists.

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On the consuls and others entering the hall the Chinese officers rose, and the usual compliments were exchanged; and after the foreigners had been introduced to the Kwang-chow-foo, they seated themselves, as had been previously arranged, when business commenced, which consisted of nothing more than urging on them to give the required bond, which they steadily refused to do, without previously consulting their respective governments.

Every species of threat and persuasion was used to drive or tempt them into doing so; and the Chefoo exclaimed, "The bond! the bond! we must have the bond, and nothing but the bond!" It was all in vain; they were staunch in abiding by their resolution, and he escaped from the dilemma by giving them until the next day to consider of their final determination, dismissing them with "Now go home and go to bed."

Thus were two men, who possessed no opium, with an utter recklessness of justice, detained prisoners in Canton; their trade as well as that of others stopped, and themselves grossly insulted by low language and false accusations, set forth in the commis-

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sioner's edict. And to what are we compelled to attribute his object? That he might state to the emperor, and circulate through China, that he had made all the foreigners tremble and humbly sue at the foot of the celestial throne.

On the 10th their excellencies the commissioner and the governor, left Canton for the Bogue, to witness in person the delivery up of the opium. Having, in their progress down the river, to pass through the whole of the foreign vessels at Whampoa (twenty-four in number) they might easily have been captured; but British good faith, combined with the strong and peaceable injunctions of the superintendent, prevented such an act on the part of the irritated commanders.

Captain Elliot gave notice on the 14th, that he had received letters dated at Chuenpee on the 12th, that only 650 chests had been at that time delivered up, owing to a want of Chinese boats, but that an increased number had been promised. The high commissioner also directed the servants to be restored. Prior to this day 7000 chests had been given up; and it was expected that the

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moiety would be delivered by the evening of the 18th.

There were about thirty civilians, all the Chinese officers in the river, and the creatures of the commissioner, employed at the receipt of the drug, all of whom were deeply versed in the trade; the Hong merchants and linguists being also in attendance. So artfully arranged was the whole system, one party watching the other, that embezzlement was almost impossible; still the lower orders and troops contrived to conceal small quantities about their persons, though, when detected, they were most severely punished.

During his stay at Chuenpee, Lin evinced a wish to annoy the English in every way. One day he would insist on the ships being anchored in a row, like chop-boats, and was furious when informed that neither the winds nor the waves would admit of its being done. His bile was again excited, because some of the vessels were very small, and had but little of the drug on board, insisting that larger ones should be brought to Chuenpee, threatening starvation and decapitation, if his orders were not obeyed.

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When the moiety was delivered, Mr. Johnston intimated that he should stop the further surrender, unless the stipulation of allowing the passage-boats to run was complied with. At this Lin expressed the utmost indignation. Was he to be coerced? And he accordingly embarked for Canton. He actually went part of the way up the river, vowing he would receive no more opium, and that he would execute the law, or rather vent his fury on the foreigners detained by him at Canton; but finding his threats of no avail, he returned, and the passage-boats were allowed again to run.

During his stay at Chuenpee, his secretary and aides-de-camp, with other intelligent men, were employed making inquiries, and noting down the answers on every branch of policy and trade, and especially as to what might be the consequence of his present measure; and what compensation would be most agreeable to the owners of the opium. They very particularly inquired whether Russia and England were not at war, and seemed much astonished to learn that they were in profound peace. These observations were daily presented to the commissioner, who had

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formed a thick volume by the time he returned to Canton.

On the 4th of May the superintendent gave notice, that it was his purpose to remain in Canton, until his public obligations to the Chinese government were fulfilled. On the same day the Hong merchants informed the chairman of the commercial chamber, that directions for the opening of the trade had been given; but so late in the day was this information conveyed, that the merchants could not avail themselves of it until Monday, the 6th, and then only in a very limited manner, not being allowed to visit the Hongs to superintend the purchase of their goods. Permission was also given for the licensed boats to run, subject to being searched at the military stations; and notice was given that a Weiyuen would attend when each vessel left the factories, to ascertain who were her passengers.

At this time sixteen of the merchants were still detained at Canton, charged with being concerned in the opium dealing; and among these sixteen gentlemen there were several individuals who had never been engaged in that or any other contraband trade.

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At noon of the 5th the armed guard and coolies were dismissed, who appeared not a little pleased at escaping from their new and harassing duty.

Monday, the 6th of May, about fifty foreigners availed themselves of the licensed passage-boats, happy to get out of the clutches of the Chinese; but to prevent the escape of the proscribed, a government boat had been moored at the landing-place, the inspecting officer being accommodated with a bamboo shed on the Point. Each individual who embarked had to answer to his name, as it was called, and to submit to the examination of the officers and linguist, their trunks and baggage undergoing the same operation.

Thus did his excellency the high commissioner observe his "bigotted regard for good faith." Repeatedly had he promised that all should be forgotten when the opium was given up; yet we find him proscribing sixteen gentlemen; and after every catty of opium that was in the Chinese waters had been surrendered, issuing commands for the departure from China of one gentleman, who for some time by his directions had

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been under the *especial* espionage of the local authorities; and following it up two days after by an equally peremptory order to three partners of a firm, who had allowed themselves to be *robbed* of the greatest quantity of opium, together with one of their clerks, who had not been eighteen months in the country and whose only crime was bearing the name of and being nephew to the senior partner in the firm, to quit China forthwith; and further, before they were permitted to obey this order, they were required to sign a bond "never to return to China under feigned names;" and that, should they so return, they would willingly submit to the extreme penalty of the law.

By a paper dated the 8th, the Kwang-chow-foo communicated to Captain Elliot and the American and Dutch consuls, the orders of the commissioner regarding the punishment of foreigners dealing in opium, in which he declares, that parties found to be therein concerned should be capitally executed, and their property confiscated. This, after the specimen of justice to the sixteen individuals proscribed, could never be tolerated. It would have been subjecting

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the lives, liberty, and property of the whole community to the power of the Hong merchants, linguists, compradores, and even coolies; while the reckless conduct of some opium speculator outside, might have involved the safety of the fair-dealing residents.

Captain Elliot in a notice, on the 11th, pointed out "that persons remaining would be understood by the government as assenting to the reasonableness of the beforementioned law."

A proclamation of the 14th sets forth that, agreeably with directions from Lin, the back doors of all foreign factories were to be blocked up, nor were the foreigners to be allowed to use them as formerly; the square in front of the factories was to be railed round, the passages through all the streets near them to be cut off, and the walls inclosing the foreign dwellings to be made higher and stronger, with only one gate, having a military guard established thereat. The shopkeepers in old and new China-street were directed to shut up their shops, and remove within ten days, and all those who had committed the *sin of hanging up sign-*

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boards, with their calling in foreign characters, were required to remove them, or, to use the words of the edict,—"if there are any who dare to walk in their former footsteps, most assuredly they shall catch three inches of law," and "then suffer capitally."

On the 21st of May, 1839, the surrender of the 20,283 chests of opium was completed. On the 22nd a notice from the superintendent referring to his previous notices, enjoined all her majesty's subjects to make preparations for quitting Canton before or with her majesty's establishment, which would take place immediately; and it further directed that sealed lists of claims against the Chinese should be sent in.

The superintendent's secretary gave notice on the 23rd, that Captain Elliot would leave for Whampoa at eleven o'clock the next day; and particularly requested that there might be no general assemblage of her majesty's subjects.

On the same day, Lin and Tang directed the Hong merchants to see that the remaining ten of the sixteen proscribed merchants did speedily return to their own country; for, says the edict,—"Now that the store-

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ships have given up the entire amount of the opium, it is not expedient that they should be allowed any longer to delay their stay in Kwang-tung, lest their old cunning should bud forth again." They were, however, to give *voluntary bonds* before their departure, similar to those demanded from the six previously mentioned.

Howqua and Mowqua not arriving to identify Captain Elliot and the other British residents, it was 5 P.M. of the 24th before they finally quitted the factories, after an imprisonment of seven weeks. Immediately on their quitting, the guard of coolies at the British consulate, and at the gate leading into China-street, were removed.

Much speculation existed as to the intention of the commissioner with regard to the method of dealing with the surrendered opium; but on the 31st it was decided by the appearance of a proclamation, in which Lin states, that having made a report by express to the emperor, of 20,283 chests of opium being surrendered by the depôt-ships, he received the following despatch from the cabinet council:—

"Lin Tsihseu and his colleagues are to

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assemble the civil and military officers, and destroy the opium before their eyes; thus manifesting to the natives dwelling on the sea-coast, and the foreigners of the outside nations, an awful warning. Respect this. Obey respectfully."

On the 1st of June, the high commissioner, the governor, and all the officers, civil and military, proceeded to Chunhow, near the Boeca Tigris; and on the 4th, commenced operations for the destruction of 2,500,000*l.* of *forcibly-seized* British property; large trenches, were lined with stone, and the opium being decomposed in them by the use of quicklime, rock salt, and water, was allowed to run into the sea.

Gross attempts were made to deceive the emperor, by reports from the provinces, of numbers of individuals having given up opium-smoking, and delivered up their pipes to the authorities. But the emperor was not to be deceived, and remarked on the number of new ones. His imperial majesty was well aware that a new pipe was of no value; whereas, an old one, like the *écume de mer*, is of great value, from the quantity of essential oil which the bowl contains. The author

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has one in his possession, which was found in a mandarin box, when the fort of Wangtong was captured. The stem of this pipe, is cane, perfectly black from use, is seventeen inches long, and one inch in diameter, having a turned mouthpiece of buffalo's horn; six inches of the opposite end are encased in copper beautifully inlaid with silver. Midway on this, is a round copper socket, three inches in circumference, in which is placed the bowl, formed of fine clay handsomely chased, and resembling in shape a flattened turnip, with a puncture about the size of a pin's head on the upper side; the diameter of this bowl is nearly three inches.

To complete his establishment, the smoker has a tray, about ten inches by six, made of some fancy wood, on which is placed two small lamps, generally three ivory boxes containing the drug, a silver or steel needle, six inches long, pointed at one end and barbed at the other. The smoker, assuming a recumbent position, with the head elevated, attaches to the fine end of the needle a very small quantity of opium, and holding it to the lamps, reduces it to the proper state

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for inhaling; when applying it with a circular motion at the incision in the bowl, he draws the vapour through the pipe by the power of his lungs, much like the action of smoking the hookah. Two or three whiffs are all a pipe furnishes, one or two of which are sufficient for a novice; while an old stager will smoke for two or three hours without being affected.

The opium, when purchased from the importer, passes through a refining process, and frequently is mixed with some kind of conserve.

That the emperor had received a grossly false report, forwarded to him by Lin, had been long rumoured at Canton; and probably such was the case. But that he was ultimately correctly informed, as to the forced surrender, by some of the authorities, either publicly or privately, few can doubt who are acquainted with the policy of Chinese courts; nor is it impossible, that Lin himself might have sent a secret despatch for the emperor's particular information. At all events, his approval, in the following edict, of the measures taken by Lin, at once makes him a party to the insults and injuries

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heaped on the British crown, through the injury done to its subjects.

"To-day, Lin Tsihseu, by a post haste despatch, has reported, respecting the management of the foreign (opium) ships and surrender of the opium. His proceedings are worthy of the highest praise. Lin and his coadjutors, in their searching into, and management of this business, have arranged extremely well, and it is right I should praise their zeal. I order that Lin and Tang be referred to the board of civil office, for appropriate rewards. I also order, that E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, Yeu, the comptroller of the maritime customs, and Kwan, the admiral, be referred to the said board, for becoming rewards. Respect this."

Meetings of British merchants were held at Macao, about the middle of June, for the purpose of communicating with the superintendent, as some parties were preparing to send British ships and cargoes to Whampoa; and also to ascertain from him, if there was a likelihood of an arrangement of existing difficulties; to which Captain Elliot distinctly replied, that the entrance of British

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ships and goods within the Bocca Tigris, would involve the individuals in most serious difficulties; and he again warned them, "in the most emphatic manner," that, in the present state of affairs, it would be perilous "in the highest degree."

Who, indeed, could doubt this, after the treatment already experienced; for opium still continued to be carried to Hong Kong and to the east coast of China. Had the ships been once within the grasp of the commissioner, it is more than probable, that he would have reacted all his former doings, and once more imprisoned the persons and seized the property of the innocent and too-confiding merchants.

A transhipping trade, shortly after this, sprung up, which tended to destroy the unanimity that had existed between the residents; each striving to do the best for their consignees. At this time, the Americans made a splendid harvest; their ships being employed to take up from Hong Kong, and bring down from Canton, the British cargoes, at the very *moderate* sum of twelve dollars and a half per ton: thus "they kindly accommodated" their English friends.

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That the Chinese were now anxious for trade the "clear proclamation" publicly placarded at Macao, by Lew and Tseang, the sub-prefects at Kwang-chow and Macao, plainly showed; and these gentry, who were ever ready to style their own countrymen "traitorous natives," for dealing with foreigners, did not hesitate to excite British subjects to form a connection with the Hong merchants and local government, in opposition to their own superintendent's directions.

Captain Elliot, on the 21st, in a very spirited memorial to Lin, warmly remonstrated against the act of Lew and Tseang, and thus reproached him with his want of faith:—"Terrible, indeed, will be his imperial majesty's indignation, when he learns that the obligations into which the high commissioner entered, under his seal, to the officers of a foreign nation, were all violated."

He proceeds to recapitulate the violations, and states the reasons for the ships not entering the Bocca Tigris, "because there is no safety for a handful of defenceless men, when within the grasp of the government of Can-

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ton." This was a bitter dose to the haughty Lin.

On the 2nd of July the American merchants held a meeting to discuss the subject of signing the bond, often before alluded to, which was written in Chinese, though it had been the custom formerly to write it in English.

After some discussion with Howqua, the required bond was, on the 3rd, signed by the masters of the different American vessels, it being then written in the Chinese and English language, the former at the top of the sheet, and the latter underneath, the signatures of the masters of the ship being between the two. The signers protested to their vice-consul, that they only signed to that part which was written in English,—not to any interpretation that the Chinese words might bear.

New regulations for trade were issued. which principally related to measuring ships in the outer and inner waters. The Chinese wisely imagined that if any difference appeared in their draughts of water, above or below bar, they should be able to ascertain whether such ship or ships had

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been engaged in smuggling. The same regulations extended to placing guards and excise officers round the vessels, and about the river.

During this month their excellencies the commissioner, governor, and lieutenant-governor, promulgated the new and severe laws against the use of or trade in opium, the tender mercies of which will astonish our more civilized European brethren:—"It must be now apparent to all, when the awful severity of the new law is considered, that the traffic in opium must be cut off completely and for ever, ere the son of heaven will stay his hand. As for the seller of opium, if he do not quickly forsake his vile calling, decapitation will follow conviction; for the smoker of opium, if he do not quickly renounce the habit, there will be little chance of escape from strangulation. Persist in the vice, and die! renounce it, and live! There is no man but fears to look on death, and clings to life; tremble then at the penalty, and flee the crime!"

The mildest sentence was transportation. But if the code were to be carried out, one half of the nation would suffer death, and the

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other half would be sent to the cold country*. Keshen, in his memorial before alluded to, pretty clearly admits this statement to be correct in the following cool paragraph:—

"Now, in the instance of a rebellion, when we levy soldiers to exterminate the rebels, when we have "clipped their wings," and massacred their wives and children, it only amounts to a few hundred or a few thousands of people after all, and there the affair ends! But, on the other hand, as regards opium smokers, if you wish to annihilate them, let us look at the provinces of Fokien and Canton alone, where out of every ten men some seven or eight smoke opium; and I fear that even should you butcher some eighty or a hundred thousand people, yet would you be as far from effecting your object as ever!"

On the 7th of July the English were again plunged into further difficulties by the death of a Chinese at Hong Kong, in a squabble with some English and American sailors. The high commissioner required that the supposed murderer should be given up to be dealt with agreeably to the barbarous and

* The term used when banished to Tartary or the Chinese Siberia.

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absurd law of China, which requires life for life, if the homicide be a foreigner.

This demand Captain Elliot as positively refused to comply with; for after a most careful and strict investigation, he was unable to fix such charge of murder on any British subject, and his positive instructions from home were, not in any case to give up a British subject to be dealt with by any Chinese authorities. When the murder of the poor gunner of the Lady Hughes* is remem-

* The facts were simply these. In 1784, in firing a salute, three Chinese in a chop-boat alongside the Lady Hughes country ship were badly injured, one of whom died next day. Mr. Smith, the supercargo of the ship, having been decoyed within the city, "a linguist soon arrived at the factory, bringing a letter from Mr. Smith to the captain of his ship, desiring he would send up the gunner, or some other person, to be tried by the mandarins; and this was forwarded on the 29th to Whampoa, backed by a letter from the council. On the 30th, the unfortunate gunner, an old man, was brought to Canton, and sent into the city, with an address, 'signed by the English council, and the representatives of the foreign nations,' in his favour. He was received by a mandarin of superior rank, who *verbally* stated that no apprehensions need be entertained as to his life, and that when the emperor's answer had been obtained, he should be restored. In about an hour after, Mr. Smith returned

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bered, with many other cases equally cruel and deceptive, no one can be astonished at such an order.

The superintendent subsequently promised that further exertion should be made to discover the guilty party, and that should he be found, he would be tried according to the laws of his own country, in presence of "the honourable Chinese officers." But to a cunning attempt which they made to get Captain Elliot to admit that the body of a drowned seaman found at Hong Kong, was that of the homicide, with the view of establishing their right to have executed the culprit, if he had not committed suicide, the superintendent replied he could not say that the corpse was that of the individual concerned in the death of Lin Weihe.

Lin finding her majesty's officer would not yield obedience to his cruel injustice, marched troops on Macao, directing the Portuguese government to drive the English away; and on the 15th of August, all native servants were again commanded to quit their masters;

to his factory, stating that he had been very civilly treated. On the 8th of January following, the unhappy gunner was strangled.—DAVIS's *China*.

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and the resident Chinese of Macao were forbidden to sell provisions.

These proclamations were placarded on boards and paraded about the streets of Macao by the police, who, beating gongs at the same time, announced the will of the government in this new and novel way. Most of the English families were supplied with provisions through the Portuguese servants: even they had great difficulty in obtaining them, the price of all commodities being unusually high; which occasioned great suffering to the lower orders of Portuguese and natives. Captain Elliot, not wishing to bring any further hardships on the Portuguese community, gave notice that he should quit for some of the vessels at Hong Kong on the 23rd, and withdrew on that day with his family.

About ten o'clock at night, on the 24th of August, the Black Joke, a small English schooner, proceeding from Macao to Hong Kong, with a Mr. Moss and his property, while at anchor under the south end of the Island of Lantoa, was attacked in a most piratical and murderous manner by several Chinese boats. Mr. Moss was most cruelly

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cut and hacked about his person: his left ear was cut off and forced into his mouth, and an attempt was made to push it down his throat; five of the lascar crew were murdered. The schooner's tindal* saved himself by jumping overboard and hanging on the rudder chains; while they speared and threw overboard another, who nevertheless succeeded in swimming to the land. They then plundered the vessel and attempted to set her on fire; when the Harriet opportunely heaving in sight, these miscreants forsook their prey, making sail towards the Bocca Tigris. In their hurry to escape they left a mandarin's cap and knife behind them. Mr. Hall, of the Harriet, taking the Black Joke in tow, proceeded with her to the Typa.

The leader of this piratical band of assassins, Wang-chung, a naval officer, was shortly after this dastardly attack, rewarded and promoted by the high commissioner. Thus are the foulest deeds rewarded by the Chinese authorities; and the emperor some time afterwards evinced his approval by directing

* The tindal is the cockswain or lascar master of a boat.

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that this Wang-chung should be promoted to the rank of Toosze, and ordering his actions to be held up to the imperial navy as worthy of imitation.

On the 25th of August, the Chinese local authorities informed the governor of Macao, that they intended to surround the dwellings of the British with troops; thus reacting their former violence. The governor of Macao though most anxious to afford all the aid in his power, candidly admitted his inability to give them any efficient protection.

The English, therefore, not wishing to compromise their Portuguese friends with the Chinese, and feeling in the absence of all vessels of war, that they were wholly unprotected, determined to embark on board the vessels at anchor in Hong Kong Bay and in the Typa; thus voluntarily leaving Macao, rather than trust to the tender mercies of the Chinese.

Great were the inconveniences and privations they had to go through. Mothers with their children, merchants with their whole establishments, crowded on board deep laden vessels; while delicate females in the last

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stage of pregnancy were hurried off on the decks of small craft.

Will any one now be found to call this merely an *opium* war? We may further add, as if all before-enacted injuries and insults were not sufficient, that Lin and the "infamous Tang," on the last day of August, gave orders to the local officers, civil and military, "by land and by water, faithfully to intercept, and wholly to cut off, from the English, all supplies, that they may be made to fear and to pay the tribute of *fealty*." He then commands the "gentry and elders, shopkeepers and inhabitants of the outer villages," to purchase arms; and if any foreigners should attempt to land, to fire upon them, or make them prisoners, and "thereby stop their power to drink, even when they land to get water from the springs." But they were not to presume to go off to any of the vessels.

On the 30th, her majesty's ship Volage, Captain H. Smith, arrived from India, and was followed a few days afterwards by her majesty's ship Hyacinth, Commander Warren.

The arrival of the vessels added much to the spirit of the British community, who

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now felt they had a certain protection from Lin's barbarity. These vessels, as they arrived, joined the fleet at Hong Kong, where provisions *could* be procured, though at very high prices and only in small quantities.

Lin and Tang, who for some time had been residing at Heang-shan, determined on the 3rd of this month, to honour Macao with their presence; early on which day a long procession was seen moving from Tseen-shan towards the city. The Portuguese troops, accompanied by the band, proceeded to the barrier to receive their excellencies, who entered that gate about eight o'clock, and proceeded to the temple of Leenfung, where they were met by the procurador with a deputation of magistrates of Macao.

The procession consisted of a Chinese officer on horseback, followed by the gong and banner-bearers; next to which was a detachment of Chinese troops, immediately in advance of the high commissioner's sedan, which was carried by eight Chinese and attended by a Portuguese guard of honour. Then came a second detachment of native troops preceding governor Tang's chair,

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the rear of the procession being formed by a detachment of soldiers. The whole party amounted to about two hundred individuals. By the variety of their banners and uniforms the military part of the procession was evidently from different regiments. Their weapons were as various as their accoutrements, consisting of bows, arrows, spears, matchlocks, and blunderbusses; and yet these "celestials" cut but a sorry figure compared with the smart Portuguese troops.

After their excellencies had partaken of refreshments, the procession again set forward, making a circuit through the city, where the Chinese inhabitants had erected several triumphal arches, ornamented with festoons and highly laudatory scrawls; and as the chairs of these dignitaries approached the doors of their houses, they set out tables ornamented with vases of flowers, thus manifesting "their profound gratitude for his coming to save them from a deadly vice," as was observed by an old and confirmed opium-smoker.

The shipping at Hong Kong being much distressed for supplies in consequence of the increased vigilance of the mandarins at Cowloon, it was decided to attack their position,

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which was carried into effect on the 4th, with the Louisa cutter and the boats of the Volage and merchant-ships.

After a smart engagement but little was effected, though several Chinese were killed; and many were wounded on both sides. This drew forth a violent edict from Lin, directing the celestial forces to make an exterminating attack on the barbarians, and place Elliot's life in his hands."

On the evening of the 11th, four or five war-junks and several other small craft anchored near the Spanish brig Bilbaino, then lying in the Typa; but no suspicion was created in the minds of her crew by the circumstance. A little after three in the morning of the 12th, a large fire-raft was sent by them against the Spaniard, but by the exertions of her crew it was avoided. This being perceived by the crews of the junks, they immediately attacked her, boarding with between two or three hundred men, and setting fire to her in all directions; hauling down the Spanish flag which the mate had hoisted, and to which he had particularly called their attention, in doing which he was cruelly wounded and beaten with bamboos.

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The crew of the brig jumped overboard, but were, with the exception of three, picked up and landed. The mate and a Súlú lad were kept prisoners, and as soon as the destruction of the vessel was certain were conveyed to Chunhow, at which place the Chinese high commissioner Lin was residing, to whose residence they were led in triumphal procession; banners being displayed, music playing, and themselves guarded as prisoners by foot and horse-soldiers. When they arrived, they were immediately heavily ironed and forced on their knees. While in that position they underwent a lengthened examination with a view of leading them to confess that the Bilbaino was an English vessel, which they of course had stoutly denied.

During thirteen days these examinations were constantly renewed; sometimes a drawn sword was held over the mate's head, and instant decapitation threatened if he did not confess the fact to be as they wished to establish it. At other times they examined them separately, showing them a large box of dollars, affirming that the other prisoner had confessed that the ship in question was an

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English vessel, and had already proceeded to Macao with a similar box; and that the individual, who was then under examination, should have the same on making a similar confession. However, all their artful attempts proved to be in vain; and after twenty-five days of cruel treatment these two poor fellows were sent to Canton, and at that place were kept close prisoners for nearly six months; neither were they liberated until a strong memorial on the subject was dispatched from a Spanish naval officer, who arrived from Manilla for the purpose.

There is no doubt but this vessel was supposed by the Chinese to be the Tan-sze-no, *alias* Virginia, one of the opium-ships that had been at Chuenpee at the time of the surrender of the opium, but which vessel had left the Chinese waters some months. The principle actor in this piratical proceeding was Wang-chung, notorious for his attack upon the Black Joke.

Negotiations were now going on for the re-opening of the general trade outside the Bocca Tigris, and the Hong merchants were at Macao making the necessary arrangements.

Four propositions were forwarded in the

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name of the commissioner relative to this arrangement, to which Captain Elliot replied; and it was finally agreed, as appeared by Captain Elliot's notice on the 20th of October, that the trade should be carried on at the anchorage between Anunghoy and Chuenpee; the vessels to be subject to be searched, and to pay the same duties as if proceeding to Whampoa; but no bond was to be given regarding opium.

The Hong merchants had returned to Canton, the British families were returning to Macao, and everything promised a temporary lull. But this was shortly ended by Lin making a sudden demand to have the bond signed, and the murderer of Lin Weihe given up.

To what do we attribute this sudden vacillation of conduct? To the ship Thomas Coutts, Warner, entering the Bogue in opposition to the notice of her majesty's superintendent, and the required bond being signed by her master. Lin now indulged the hope that all the other ships would follow her example: at all events he had hostages in his possession by whom he might hope to coerce us; and Kwan, the admiral, had also

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assured him that he would destroy the English corvettes which were in the river.

In consequence of these peremptory demands of Lin, Captain Elliot, on the 20th of October, issued a notice requiring all British ships to remove to the anchorage in Toong-koo Bay, that at Hong Kong being liable to the attacks of fire-ships; at the same time he addressed a letter to Captain Smith, of H.M.S. Volage, stating the violation by the imperial high commissioner of the late treaty, which Captain Elliot mainly attributed to the entry of a British vessel within the Bocca Tigris. He therefore called upon Captain Smith to use such methods as he thought best, to prevent British vessels from placing themselves within the grasp of the Chinese authorities. Upon the receipt of that requisition, Captain Smith issued a notice reiterating the orders of the British superintendent.

Immediately upon his violation of treaty, Lin issued orders for the delivery up for trial of "five men detained by Elliot*;"

* This alludes to five men that had been detained during the inquiry made by Captain Elliot relative to the death of Lin Weihe.

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supplies were *again* stopped, and the native servants once more commanded to quit their employers, and the Portuguese again directed to drive them out of Macao. If the cargo ships did not give the bond demanded within three days, they were to go away; in failure of which, it was declared they would be destroyed by fire. The Chinese immediately commenced constructing fire-ships for the purpose.

On the 2nd of November, the Volage and Hyacinth anchored off Chuenpee, her majesty's superintendent being on board the Volage, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, interpreter to her Britannic majesty's establishment in China. Captain Smith, in his capacity of senior naval officer, sent a letter on board the Chinese admiral's junk, with an inclosure for the high commissioner, requiring him to withdraw his orders for the destruction of the English vessels by fire; and also, that British subjects should be allowed to reside in Macao, unmolested by the Chinese authorities, pending instructions from the British government. This letter was taken on board the admiral's junk by a lieutenant of the Volage, who was

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politely received by Admiral Kwan, and an answer promised on the morrow.

In the evening, a Chinese linguist, accompanied by a pilot, visited the Volage, and stated that they had come from Canton, with a proper chop in reply to Captain Smith's, which was on board the admiral's junk: they expressed a wish that Mr. Morrison would go and fetch it. This was of course refused. They retired, promising to return with it immediately, but did not do so until the next morning, when the same parties arrived in a large boat; but contrary to their usual practice they got into a small one to go alongside the Volage, when they stated the chop was in the large boat, and requested it might be sent for. This was again declined. Finding all their persuasions fail to obtain their object, they returned and brought it themselves. To the surprise of every one it proved to be Captain Smith's identical despatch returned *apparently* as it had been sent!

The Chinese fleet were now observed to be weighing, and standing towards her majesty's ships, which were quickly got under weigh, and prepared for action. Though the

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movements of the Chinese evidently indicated mischief, still Captains Smith and Elliot were adverse to inflicting on the poor crews of the junks the severe chastisement which they must have suffered, if the ships' broadsides had been opened upon them. Messengers were consequently again dispatched with the original letter, and a peremptory requisition sent to the admiral to return to his usual anchorage. To this he at once replied, that no terms could be entertained until the homicide should be delivered over to the Chinese, to be dealt with according to their laws.

The junks to the number of sixteen, stood on, and soon anchored in a line from Chuenpee point stretching to the southward, while an outer line was formed of thirteen fire vessels, each having a black flag flying. It was then thought necessary to attack them; and an action ensued, which is thus described by an officer of the Volage.

"The first vessel to receive our fire was one of their fire-rafts; we threw a few shot upon her in passing, and in a few seconds observed her to settle in the water, and almost immediately go down. One of the

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war-junks was now on the beam of the Volage, and fired a couple of guns at her, which passed over. These were immediately returned, several of the shot telling on the junk; and almost instantly we heard an explosion, and on looking round saw through the envelope of the smoke the fragments of the unfortunate junk floating as it were in the air. She had blown up. When the smoke cleared somewhat off, out of whatever number she might have had on board, we could see but three about the wreck. When blown up she was not distant from the Volage more than fifty yards. Pieces of the wreck fell on board, and the cover of the pinnace was set on fire. A boat was sent to save what offered on the wreck, but was fired at by the Chinese, and returned.

"The Hyacinth came in astern of the Volage, passed her, and got among the denser part of the junks; and an awful warning they must have had from a vessel of her force! The firing was now indiscriminate upon any vessel where the guns would tell, and the admiral got his full share; more particularly from the Hyacinth, she being further to the northward and nearer to him. Vast destruc-

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tion of life not being so much the object as a wholesome chastisement, the Volage kept more to the southward, to prevent the junks escaping in that direction and drive them back to the anchorage, to which, in the morning, they had declined to go; but towards which, by this time, they were all too glad to get by every means in their power.

"The first shot or two was the signal to many of them to be off, but the admiral and a few others kept their station longer, firing with more spirit than we had been generally led to expect. Their guns and powder must have been good, from the distance they carried; but not being fitted for elevation or depression, all their shot were too high to have any effect, except on the spars and rigging. The Volage got some shot through her sails, and the Hyacinth was a good deal cut up in her rigging and spars; a 12-pound shot lodged in her mizen-mast, and one went through her main-yard, requiring it to be secured. Their wretched gunnery hurt no one. The firing commenced about twelve, and at one they were all sunk, dispersed, or flying. At this time the Hyacinth was ranging up alongside the admiral, and would soon

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have sunk him; the chastisement was already severe, and she was recalled. The result of the whole was three junks sunk, one blown up, many deserted, and the rest flying."

When all the insults and injuries which had for the last six months been heaped on the English are considered, none will be found to regret the punishment which Captain Smith thus thought it necessary to inflict;—a punishment which would have been more severe, had not the kindness of Captain Elliot's disposition led him to request Captain Smith, after a short time, to spare the poor Chinese; in consequence of which the signal was made to the Hyacinth to discontinue the engagement, at the moment when she would have sent the admiral's junk to the bottom.

The Royal Saxon, an English merchant ship, imitating the conduct of the Thomas Coutts, just previous to the engagement attempted to enter the Bocca Tigris, but a shot fired across her bows from the Volage, caused her to drop her anchor. She subsequently proceeded to Whampoa.

On Lin's hearing of the engagement, he became frantic with rage, and penned a memorial to the emperor, praying for his

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dismissal; but on further consideration, finding that a detail of the transaction would not redound to the honour of the celestial empire, or "keep his celestial majesty's face clean," and that it would criminate a number of the imperial officers, he destroyed his despatches, substituting for it a flaming gazette, in which, Kwan is described as a perfect hero. The following extract will speak for itself.

The British corvettes are designated as mere boats,—*sampans*, viz., *three planks*—that earnestly begged to enter the Bocca Tigris, "but their prayers not having been granted, they attempted to steal through the *Tiger's Gate*."

"The admiral, Kwan, then fired, and killed several of their crew. Now," continues the report, "they ought to have fled for their lives; but, instead, they dared to return the fire, which was like beating an egg upon the stones! and they were, in consequence, destroyed by the admiral's fire. The admiral was sitting in his cabin, when he was wounded by a splinter, in the face; and several of the soldiers, losing their footing, fell into the sea, and four of them

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were drowned. The admiral immediately shifted his flag, and stood by the mast, cheering on his crew with the most perfect composure to battle, undaunted at the heavy labour; he, indeed, displayed the terror of his name, and again discharged a broadside, which killed several tens of the English barbarians. After this, they will never be allowed to peep clandestinely about the *Tiger's Mouth.*"

This flaming report gained for Kwan,—who really was a brave old fellow,—a mighty warlike Tartar title, Fa-hae-long-oh Pa-too-loo; his senior adc. being summoned to Pekin, to receive the patent of this title from the hands of the emperor, to be conveyed to Kwan, who was himself too valuable to be spared from his post, at that crisis.

Some time afterwards, a true statement was sent to Pekin, but which the emperor professed not to believe, though he evidently had some doubt of the truth of Lin's report; for he removed him from the most honourable and lucrative government in the empire, to one four degrees lower. That he was highly displeased with all the proceedings taking place, may be inferred from the fact that

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Tang was also reduced to the lowest of the governments,—Hotaou Tsung, or governor of the rivers. Probably his known riches had assisted in this appointment, the banks of the Yellow River requiring great repair. By this means, Tang would undergo a system of gentle squeezing, which he himself had been practising on his countrymen at Canton. Lin's wings were also much clipped; while, at the same time, an opportunity was left him of carrying out the improvements and plans he had so often suggested to the emperor.

On the 26th of November, a proclamation was issued by Lin and Tang, professing to cut off the trade of the English for ever, since they would not execute the required bond; at the same time making exceptions in favour of the Thomas Coutts, and Royal Saxon. If proof were wanting, this shews the bad effect on the general trade which resulted from the masters of two ships having signed the bond and entered the Bogue.

The month of December passed without anything of peculiar interest transpiring. Thus nearly ten months had elapsed since Lin entered Canton with the declared

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intention of immediately suppressing the traffic in opium, and placing legal trade on a more secure footing. Had he done so? No. That he had driven the opium trade from Whampoa, is true; but he had extended it along the whole coast of China, where above twenty vessels, ships, brigs, and schooners, were now employed; sometimes fighting with, but mostly bribing the authorities.

Opium, which had previously to and after the seizure of the 20,283 chests, and the other vigorous measures of the commissioner, fallen to about 150 or 200 dollars per chest, was now selling readily at 800, 900, and even 1,000 dollars per chest, realising enormous fortunes for those who had foreseen this reaction, and had bought up quantities of the drug at the above very low price.

The greatest reliance was placed by the Chinese dealers in the honour of the masters of the clippers. Frequently, when pressed by the guard-boats, they would leave quantities of their silver on board, until some future opportunity offered of their getting the opium.

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A gentleman informed me that on one of his voyages along the coast, he had above 50,000 dollars in bags left on board his vessel for better than five months, without even knowing to whom they belonged; the boat that brought them having come alongside late at night and put them on board.

The way in which the Chinese prove their ownership to dollars thus left is curious and simple: in each bag is deposited a wooden tally, notched in some peculiar manner. When the owner comes to reclaim his money or opium, he produces a duplicate tally fitting exactly into the one in the bag: by this dumb evidence, he at once substantiates his right.

When the Modeste was in the outer anchorage at Chusan, we had frequent applications made to us for opium. On one occasion the Cruizer had a bag of dollars thrown on board her at night, a boat coming with an opium order next day; and Fokie could be hardly convinced that he had mistaken the vessel.

On the 5th of January, 1840, Lin and the authorities promulgated an edict, containing an imperial rescript, upbraiding the English

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with their undutiful behaviour in firing upon, and killing the imperial subjects at Cowloon and Chuenpee.

The emperor therein declares, that if they should now be willing to sign the bond, they are not to be allowed to do so, their conduct being like that of "the unfilial *Che* bird, which attacks and tries to destroy its mother as soon as it is hatched," rendering them, the English, no longer deserving of the imperial clemency. Therefore Lin is commanded to put a stop to their trade, and drive their vessels out of the celestial waters. At the same time he invites *other foreign nations* to continue their traffic; but warns them, under pain of the heaviest punishment, not to give shelter or protection to the English barbarians.

Captain Smith, on the 8th of the month, gave notice that, in consequence of the formal demands made by her majesty's superintendent to the Chinese government for the release of Mr. Gribble not being attended to, he should, agreeably to a requisition from that officer, establish a blockade of the port and river of Canton on the 15th day of the month. This, no doubt, had the desired

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effect on Lin, for on the 14th Mr. Gribble was released from his confinement, and on the 17th delivered on board the Volage.

Lin gave permission about the 25th, for British manfuctures, the *property of Americans*, to be imported in American ships; which, in fact, was nullified by the Hoppo stating in an edict, that the Americans were not to carry away more cargo than could be purchased with their imported dollars, which were to be weighed at the Custom-house, and then sent to the Hong merchants.

On the 31st of January, Yuh, a Taou-tae, arrived at Macao, having secret instructions from the commissioner. February 1st, Lin appeared to imagine that he could put the Chinese navy on a footing with, and equal to oppose the British fleet; for, throwing off his old prejudice of adhering to Chinese customs, he purchased from the Americans the Cambridge, a worn-out Indiaman of 1,200 tons burthen, then under the American flag. She was to be fitted as a frigate; and it will be found she made more noise at the first bar in 1841, than anything else, as will be explained hereafter. He also was in treaty for the purchase of three Danish ships; but not

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being able to come to terms with the owners, he, being an adept at spoliation and plunder, issued an edict confiscating them,—the one for having an English name on her stern, and the other because she had been, and might be still, British property.

An edict was also published from Lin and Tang, but dated the 1st of January, directing that no foreign ship should be allowed to export more tea or rhubarb than was requisite for the consumption of their own countries; thus *wisely* surmising that the English would not be supplied by the rest.

The purpose of Yuh's visit now appeared from an edict which he issued, stating that he had come with a number of troops for the express purpose of seizing Captain Elliot and four British subjects, who, in defiance of the commissioner's commands, had returned to Macao. A number of Chinese soldiers had been observed about the town, and several war-junks had been hauled into the inner harbour, but no suspicion had been excited by these movements.

On February the 5th, the spring tides being at their greatest height, the Hyacinth, 18, Captain Warren, was directed by Cap-

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tain Smith, in consequence of the threats held out by the edict before alluded to, to enter the inner harbour for the better protection of her majesty's subjects on shore. This proceeding gave great umbrage to the Portuguese governor, who remonstrated against the ship having been brought, or remaining there, it being contrary to the port regulations, for a foreign man-of-war to enter that anchorage. He was assured by Captain Warren, that no slight or insult was intended to the Portuguese nation, but that his ship could not be removed unless he, the governor, guaranteed the safety of the British residents.

The next day the Hyacinth returned to her usual anchorage, the governor declaring that the Chinese troops had been prevailed upon to leave the town, and those which were marching on it had retired, and that the English should not be interfered with. This demonstration had a most tranquillizing and salutary effect; and for some time afterwards the British residents in Macao remained free from threats or annoyances from the Chinese.

On the 6th, Lin, in obedience to orders received from Pekin, divested himself of the

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imperial seal, sinking simply into the viceroy of the Kwang-tung and Kwang-se provinces. The notorious Tang was also ordered to Pekin, where it was supposed his various delinquencies had been privately reported; but his party had sufficient interest at court to smother inquiry, for on the 16th he returned to Canton, being appointed to the government of Fokien.

Most of the intrigues about the court are managed by the ladies and eunuchs; and the mandarin, who has by timely presents secured *good petticoat* interest, may do pretty nearly what he likes without fearing any very rigid inquiry. But where is it otherwise?

Lin also, about this time, relinquished his pretensions to the three Danish vessels confiscated by him on the 1st of the month; nor was he then willing to purchase them for the government at any price.

An edict of Lin's, dated the 5th, was published at Macao on the 20th, wherein he threatens to stop all trade with that place, and to prevent all supplies of provisions from entering the city, if the Portuguese still continued to harbour or shelter the English. Many respectable Chinese families

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left the town, fearing this edict would be acted upon; and frequent robberies and assaults were committed by the Chinese, in the streets and neighbourhood of that place.

On the 28th and 29th, attempts were made to set fire to the fleet of merchant vessels at Toong-koo, but they were foiled by the good look out which was kept on board those vessels. On the 3rd of March the Taou-tae Yuh warned the people not to be alarmed at reports, spread by idle vagabonds to answer their own purposes. He informed them that *he* was incorruptible, affixing, at the same time, a board over his office, on which he had expressed his desire that his posterity might be cut off, should he ever acquire money by unlawful means.

On the 6th, the procurador of Macao, having addressed the Kangshan magistrate on the subject of the number of thieves and vagabonds in the neighbourhood, received an assurance that measures had been taken to search out, and punish them with the utmost rigour of the law. An edict was also published from the governor and Hoppo of Canton, announcing that the trade was to be re-opened between that place and Macao.

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News was also received, that the reigning empress of China had expired on the 16th of February. This information was announced by edicts written with blue ink,—the mourning colour in China. The government officers were directed to observe the customary mourning, which requires them to go a hundred days without shaving the head, and to remove from their caps their balls or buttons, with the crimson silk tassel that falls over its crown. The mourning colour is white, dull grey, or ash; and persons wearing these colours will be easily known to be in mourning, by having glass or crystal buttons on their dresses, instead of the usual gilt or golden ones. Every Chinaman has five buttons down the loose and comfortable jacket he wears.

A long and most extraordinary memorial appeared on the 7th, from Tsang-wang-yen, a man honoured by the friendship of his celestial majesty Taoukwang, *i. e.* "the glory of reason*," enjoying, it is said, the most fami-

* Each emperor of China, on assuming the *yellow*, selects some special appellation. The reigning sovereign selected for himself, "The glory or effulgence of reason."

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liar converse with the "brother of the sun and moon." We have a perfect right, therefore, to take for granted, that the emperor had previously approved of his wild and visionary schemes.

This Tsang-wang-yen is a native of the district of Heang-shan*, and, from the locality in which he was brought up, must know something of foreigners; but this memorial is another proof—if proofs are wanting in addition to that of Keshen's and others—of the heathen darkness which envelopes the minds of the learned, educated, and talented of the Chinese race. Tsang-wang-yen, or Tsang-moggan, as he is styled at Canton, is prefect of Shun-teen-foo, in the province of Petche-li; he is fooyin, or head of all chefoos; in fact, he is the prince of prefects.

This memorial opens with the usual Japanese maxim of exclusiveness: to stop all intercourse with other nations. "What," adds he, "these said foreigners must have to preserve their lives, and what they cannot do a single day without, are tea and rhubarb; and these, be it remembered, are the produce of our inner land. No matter what country

* Macao is situated in this district.

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these ships may come from, *do not let a single one* of them hold commercial intercourse with us."

Through these measures he assumed that great embarrassment would necessarily arise from the cargoes of the ships remaining unsold; and that from their not being allowed to receive the annual supply of tea and rhubarb, their lives would be completely in the power of his imperial master, and that consequently they would be compelled to beg and sue for trade.

After recommending different plans for punishing traitorous natives and for *arming the sea coast*, he acknowledges that, from the size and strength of our ships, and the quickness with which we handle our guns, their own navy to be quite incapable of subduing us; and therefore he advises the adoption of the following wise plan, as one which must inevitably succeed:—"But as the intercourse of the said foreigners is cut off, and they being but scantily supplied with necessaries, the pressure of their sufferings will not allow them to remain a long time anchored in the outer ocean,—they must of necessity again enter our inner

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waters, and ramble and spy about as before. Now I would still further entice them to come in by means of our cruisers; and in the meantime I would call out and get ready several hundreds of the people living on the sea-coast,—of those who are the stoutest, the bravest, and the best swimmers and divers; I would cause them at night to divide into groups, to go diving straight on board the foreign ships, and taking the said foreigners at unawares, *massacre every individual among them.* Or, I would fit up several hundreds of fire-ships beforehand, and cause the most skilful swimmers and divers* to go on board of them; these should take advantage of the wind, and let the fire-ships go; and close in the wake of these should come our armed cruisers. But before going into action, I would proclaim to all the soldiers and people, that he or they who should be able to take a foreign ship, the entire ship and cargo should be given them for encouragement; and this being made known, every one would be more eager than the other in pressing forward to the capture; and what stay, I ask, would

* It will be found that this was acted upon at Canton in May, 1841.

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these rascally foreigners have to cling to any longer? Would not their hearts, on the contrary, die within them for fear?

"Whether or not my simple view of matters may be correct, may I beg your gracious majesty to send down orders to the commissioner and viceroy and fooyuen of Kwangtung, that as opportunity offers the experiment may be made? Only let a plan be laid *for a general massacre*, and these said foreigners cannot but fear and tremble, and come to implore us.

"Whether my stupid, foolish notions may be put in force or not, I humbly pray that my august sovereign will bestow on this paper a single holy glance. A most respectful memorial."

That the emperor did bestow "a glance of approval" on it, is certain by his own words and decree to the board of war*; on receiving which they forwarded it to Lin and his colleagues to act on. Thus did the emperor not only declare war against England, but against the whole civilized world.

* Lin having been deprived of the imperial seals, had no longer a right to correspond direct with the emperor.

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If massacres, murders, and piracies were not carried on in the wholesale way the memorialist recommended, it was not from the forbearance of the government, but owing to a want of courage and of means to act, in the local authorities.

Lin and his coadjutors were now busy building gunboats of superior construction and size, for the purpose of putting down smuggling in the river: much tea and other exports having been secretly conveyed to Macao through some of the hundred channels which intersect the land in every direction. Small schooners were also built, to be added to the imperial navy.

March the 21st, Lin was busy drilling 3,000 troops, a third portion of which was to consist of *double-sworded men.* These twin swords, when in the scabbard, appear as one thick clumsy weapon, about two feet in length; the guard for the hand continuing straight, rather beyond the "fort" of the sword turns towards the point, forming a hook about two inches long. When in use, the thumb of each hand is passed under this hook, on which the sword hangs, until a twist of the wrist brings the gripe within the grasp of

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the swordsman. Clashing and beating them together and cutting the air in every direction, accompanying the action with abuse, noisy shouts and hideous grimaces, these dread heroes advance, increasing their gesticulations and distortions of visage as they approach the enemy, when they *expect* the foe to become alarmed and fly before them. Lin had great faith in the power of these men.

On the 25th, Captain Lord John Churchill, in her majesty's ship Druid, arrived from New South Wales, and took the command of the men-of-war in the river, as senior naval officer. The Chinese authorities were again becoming troublesome: the natives were forbidden to serve the foreigners as chair-bearers, and the women were prohibited from attending as nurses in their families.

These chairs, being a little broader and more comfortable than the English sedan, are carried between two long elastic shafts, so formed that the ends nearly meet. The bearers bending down their bodies, place their necks between them, allowing the ends to rest on their shoulders, grasping them in front with their hands, and having the arms

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doubled close up to their body; then erecting themselves, the weight of the individual slightly bends the shafts. The step of the bearers is quick and short, giving a slight but easy motion to the chair, which, if belonging to a mandarin, is always painted green; but it is only the highest rank who can apply them to general use; for we find, in Ellis, when the imperial commissioners met the embassy, they were in chairs. But "Kwang's rank did not authorize him to proceed thus any further;" while Loo, the other commissioner, continued in the same conveyance*.

The month of April passed over without anything of peculiar interest occurring. Lin, however, continued busily drilling his new raised levies.

Some difficulties and delays arose on the subject of securing American merchant-vessels, in consequence of which their consignees at Canton addressed a petition to Governor Lin, praying that their ships might be allowed to discharge and take in their export cargoes without delay, intelligence having been received from England and

* The high officers have frequently as many as eight bearers, who are then differently placed.

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America, that a blockade of the port of Canton by the ships of the former nation would be declared at about the beginning of June.

On the 26th, an answer was returned, granting the prayer of their petition, but sharply reproving them for their folly in giving credence to such idle reports, as that the English would dare to blockade any of the ports belonging to the celestial empire, "a thing not to be thought of."

Lin, on the 16th of May, had a grand review of his new navy, which he appeared to be fully persuaded would sweep the English from the seas. It consisted of the Cambridge, tolerably well armed with *carriage* guns; two schooners about twenty-five tons each, painted an imperial yellow and decorated with dragons; a small boat propelled with paddle-wheels, and numerous war junks: all which ultimately fell into our possession at the capture of Canton.

An edict was issued by Lin, dated the 21st, requiring all ships arriving at Whampoa to give a bond that they had no British-owned goods on board; and that, on quitting, they would not anchor near any Eng-

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lish vessels, but sail direct for their own country.

On the 22nd, an attack was made by several piratical junks on an English vessel, the Hellas, Jauncey, when near the Brothers, Islands to the northward of Namo. After a very sharp encounter, she succeeded in beating them off; but in this gallant affair Mr. Jauncey and twenty-five of his crew were wounded.

June the 3rd, a gloom was cast over the whole British community by the death of the Right Honourable Lord H. J. S. Churchill, captain of her majesty's ship Druid. His lordship's death was attributed by the Chinese, to the vengeance of offended heaven for his daring to enter the waters of the "middle kingdom" with hostile intentions. They were ever ready to assign the death of our high officers to the wrath or judgment of their deities. The death of the gallant and much-to-be-lamented Sir Frederick Maitland, naval commander-in-chief, which occurred at Bombay, was by them attributed to the same cause; as was also that of the intelligent and amiable Captain Lord Napier, the first British superintendent, which took

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place at Macao, on the 11th of October, 1834, after a sojourn of only three months in China; the whole of which had been to him a series of laborious excitement and fatigue, caused by the ill usage he received from the Canton local authorities, and when a severe chastisement of them by us might have prevented that which is now taking place. On the 5th, the remains of Lord John were interred in the British burial-ground at Macao, all the foreign residents attending to pay the last honours due to this worthy nobleman.

On the 11th, the Chinese made another attempt, on a much larger scale than their previous ones, to burn the fleet at Cap-sing-moon; but the boats of the men-of-war quickly hooking on to these formidable looking fire-ships, towed them ashore on the Brothers, where they remained, furnishing fire-wood for the shipping. These rafts were ten in number, composed of two or three junks securely fastened together with chains, and charged with small quantities of powder; they were brought down under sail, and ignited when near the ships.

After this, the Canton authorities, in

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anticipation of an attack from our expected force, moored the Cambridge just above the first bar, where they had also collected a number of junks, laden with stone, to be sunk in the passage when required.

I have thus brought my introduction to a close; for the length of which I owe my readers many apologies. But without these circumstantial details, I could not have put them in possession of many important facts and consequences, which are based on, or have arisen out of the opium question.

Every candid mind that will carefully weigh the preceding statements, must surely be convinced that the present warfare on the coast of China has not arisen from any determination of ours to force the opium trade on that country, but from the bad faith of the "celestial" government and the open violation of explicit treaties.

Whether the surrender of the property of British subjects, by Captain Elliot, was, under any circumstances, either wise or unavoidable, is not for me to determine. Yet the

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reader must be convinced that after the surrender of the opium, and Captain Elliot had offered to assist the local government in suppressing *that* trade, the Chinese authorities were not justified in attempting to prevent our general traffic in teas, silks, &c.

It must also be observed, that the demand made for the person of a British subject, after the private affray at Hong Kong, could not under any circumstances be complied with; nor was the refusal on the part of Captain Elliot any infringement on the terms entered into upon the surrender of the opium.

However, before I quit this subject, I must once more beg my readers not to allow their feelings to be carried away by any highly wrought descriptions of the miserable state of the opium smoker, which may be brought forward in other works, without, at the same time, remembering that any sensual indulgence may, by the power of language, be made to appear equally injurious.

May not the bloated, nervous, debilitated drunkard, with an insatiate thirst craving for more, utterly incapable of reason for the major part of his life, liable to commit almost

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any crime, while under the influence of his potation, be fairly placed in opposition to the emaciated opium-smoker, whose imbecility lasts but for a short time, during which he is harmless and inert?

Can it then be said that the dealer in opium, or the grower of the poppy, panders more to the depravity or vices of mankind, than the brewer or distiller,—the farmer, or the horticulturist.

Coercive measures will never stop the evil in China, for an *evil* I acknowledge it to be; it must be a well-matured, moral conviction which can alone effect that object; and that such conviction will ultimately take place we cannot doubt. May we not hope, too, that the present war may prove a means of introducing Christianity into China,—a portion of the globe inhabited by one-third of the family of mankind, who are at present buried in utter heathen darkness.

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NARRATIVE

&c.

CHAPTER I.

PASSAGE TO CHINA.

Orders to proceed to China—Arrival of Blonde and Pylades—Krewmen dislike going—Island of Mauritius—Placed in Quarantine—Seychell Islands—Coco de mer—Penang—Straits of Malacca—Water-Spout—Malays—Upas Tree—Malacca—Straits of Sincapore—Sail from Sincapore—Make the Ladrones—Chow-Chow water—Anchor at Macao—Men of War in River—Arrival of Expedition—Blockade declared—Scale of Rewards—Arrival of Cape Squadron—Method of claiming Rewards—Sail for Chusan—Ock-sue Islands,—Formosa,—Black Island—Buffalo's Nose — Fishing Boats. — Want of Interpreter — Pirates' escape—Boats sail — Chusan Harbour — Compradore seized—Blonde at Amoy—Ningpo under Blockade—Elephant's Trunk—Process of making Salt—Difference of Rank.

> To Britain's queen the nations turn their eyes;
> On her resolves the western world relies.—ADDISON.

Ho, for China! was the cheering sound heard on board the Cape squadron, on the

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morning in April, 1840, when we received the news that our worthy admiral (the Hon. G. Elliot, C.B.) was appointed commander-in-chief on the India station, and would consequently take command of the expedition fitting at Calcutta, which was destined to act against the Chinese; and happy fellows were they whose ships were selected to join that force,—Melville 74 flag, Modeste 18, Columbine 16. New life was instilled into all our operations; and the ships were rapidly refitted, while the naval yard and arsenal resounded with preparations. Much praise is due to Mr. Deas Thompson, naval storekeeper, for his indefatigable exertions, though considerable delay took place in consequence of the reduced state of the Simon's Bay establishment.

The Melville's lower deck guns were got on board, and officers were dispatched to Cape Town to raise seamen, her complement being increased to her proper rate. On the arrival of the Blonde and Pylades from England, the latter, after watering, was immediately dispatched to Sincapore to announce

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to the force there assembling, that the admiral would follow in a few days.

Many speculations were now made on our future operations, and it was not a little amusing to trace the tempers of the various individuals in their observations. Here might be seen the covetous, calculating that the Chinese would cut up well in the shape of prize-money,—and who likes prize-money better than Jack? There the ambitious might be heard, enumerating the honours and professional steps he would get; while the young and ardent were revelling in the anticipated fight. What to them was a greater ideal pleasure than the whistle of a shot in anger? Like knights of old they were ready to break a lance, each for his lady love. "Fokies*," take care of your tails, for many have been promised to the fair damsels of the Cape.

The admiral thinking it advisable to take a number of krewmen† in each ship, that during the hot season the watering and

* Anglice, "friend," and a familiar way of speaking of the Chinese.

† Natives from the western coast of Africa.

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boats' duty might be performed by them, directed a certain number to be kept in each vessel; but they did not like the proposition, and, with one or two exceptions, refused to go. In fact, though remarkably fine-looking men, they are not generally very fond of fighting.

Jack Blond assumed the part of spokesman for his countrymen serving in the Modeste; and desirable as it would have been to have retained them, his blunt oratory proved the hardship of the case too effectually to be disregarded. "Massa, me no like go China, he very far country—me four years leave krewman land, me want to go see my father—me like ship, me like officer, all very good, but me want to go coast." What could be said? they had only entered for coast service. I referred their case to the captain; and it was finally arranged that our krewmen should accompany us as far as the Mauritius, and be left there for the Acorn then cruising in the Mozambique.

The morning of the 27th saw us ready; all sail was made and everything prepared

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for a start; but no, old Æolus was sulky, and not a breath of his ruffled the waters for three successive days. This delay, however, afforded us the pleasure of a visit from the ladies of the admiral's family, and many of our Cape friends, whom we should otherwise have missed.

The 30th was ushered in with a light north-west breeze. "Signal to weigh, sir!" "Hands up anchor!" "Heave round!"—and quickly were we running out of False Bay, in company with the Melville and Blonde. The Columbine, having to refit after her cruise on the west coast, was to remain some days longer in Simon's Bay.

It had been decided that the Modeste should make the passage to China by way of Mauritius, there to raise men and take on board as great a quantity of provisions as could be carried; thus partly relieving the Cape storehouses. Keeping company until the 1st, our captain received his final orders, and we then left our consorts to go in chase of a vessel in order to put despatches on board her. This duty having been per-

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formed, a course was shaped for our destination. Much has been said by others of the horror of Bank L'Agullas, and too many unpleasant recollections of its *heaving* waters are recalled for me willingly to dwell on the subject.

Fine breezes with delightful weather took us to that most beautiful of all islands, the Mauritius, in seventeen days. He who does not admire its magnificent scenery must have little taste for the picturesque. But alas! we were merely allowed to see it; for no sooner had we anchored at the Bell Buoy, than the health-boat visited us, and, much to the annoyance of all hands, ordered the yellow flag to be hoisted, as the small-pox was prevalent at the Cape, and our passage had been so extraordinarily short. This might be a very necessary precaution in some cases, but as there was not a finger-ache amongst the crew, I think it was by no means requisite to continue the quarantine, which in our case was doubly vexing, in consequence of the unnecessary correspondence regarding our supplies, though it is but due to the

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Governor, Colonel Power, to state that he evinced every wish to facilitate our movements.

It appears almost impossible to conceive that a colony, which has been for years in our possession, had not so much as a 32-pound shot to boast of, and could furnish us with neither powder, nor rockets, nor blue lights: but such was the actual case. May I not, therefore, ask why matters have been allowed to remain in this state, or from whence can it be supposed the omission arises? These supplies might, it is true, have all been obtained at the Cape, but as ships were expected from England *en route* to China, which would require completing, it was thought unadvisable, in our case, to consume any stores which could, by possibility, be done without.

While thinking of public duties, we did not forget our private comforts in the shape of sundry cases of Lafitte, &c., and as we could not buy without samples, a goodly show of bottles was made on our gallant captain's table; a board quickly assembled, and the *commissioners* did ample justice to their

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office. Nor was it a bad amusement to crack midshipman's nuts, and hold learned disquisitions on the various vintages, on which we had to pronounce; not forgetting to give the medical board an occasional growl for depriving us, through their sanatory scruples of all the anticipated pleasures we had proposed to ourselves as we neared Port St. Louis. For all our imaginations had been excited by numerous accounts of the fair residents,—beauties which we were doomed not to see, for we sailed on the 22nd of May, with the yellow flag still at the mast-head.

A pleasant run of six days brought us to Mahe, one of the Seychelles. The town of the same name is situated on its eastern side, but so completely under the high land, that we could with difficulty make out the houses, and some few small vessels close in shore, among which was one of our captures made some months back in the Mozambique.

This vessel belonged to the Isle of France, but the master of her having purchased a little boy at Nos Beh, afterwards christened Tom Modeste, she was detained for a breach of the

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slave laws. Her unfortunate master died a few days after the capture, and as we had many prize-crews away, she was sent, in charge of the mate, to the Mauritius. Heavy weather and a long passage forced her into port at Mahe, where we were just in time to assist at her condemnation as unseaworthy.

The anchorage formed by St. Anne's and other small islands is tolerably sheltered, but the bottom, consisting of coral and rock, makes chain cables desirable.

The purchase of a few bullocks and turtles made a pleasing addition to the larder. An alderman might have relished the soup produced by our *chef de cuisine*. The bullocks, though small, proved good; the price moderate,—ten dollars; turtle of 300 pounds, sixteen shillings, and poultry in the same proportion. Previous to the Slave Emancipation Act, the prices were much more moderate.

Nature has been so bountiful to these charming islands, placed as they are in about 5° of south latitude, and 55° of east longitude, that all vegetable productions

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flourish with the slightest labour. The sea abounds with the finest fish, and *Blackee* finds it much more comfortable to indulge his indolent nature and vegetate, than to work and grow rich. From the peculiar formation and mountainous nature of this group of islands, there are no roads for carriages or other means of conveyance; the sea is the highway which requires no M'Adam. Should Madame M—— wish to visit Madame L——, she orders her boat;—and very fine boats they are, many of which we saw cruising along the shores.

Among the produce of these islands, the coco de mer (*diacia moradelphia**) is worthy of especial remark. This beautiful palm is peculiarly the tree of the Isles of Praslin, Curieuse, and Round, and attains the height of 50, 60, or even 100 feet; is straight, and apparently without bark; one foot in diameter to its head, where it is crowned with from twelve to twenty leaves. These leaves are very large, and are used in con-

* First volume of the new series of Curtis's *Botanical Magazine*, edited by Sir William Hooker, to which valuable work I am much indebted for my information.

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structing houses and sheds, one hundred leaves furnishing materials for a very commodious dwelling. A new leaf is annually formed, which falls away at the year's end, leaving a scar. Hence it may be estimated that in a hundred and thirty years the tree arrives at maturity; for few, if any, trees are found to have more than that number of indentations.

All parts of this tree are useful; the trunk splits into water-troughs, palisades, &c.; the down on the young leaves is used for stuffing mattresses and pillows, while the ribs of the leaves are converted into baskets and brooms; the inhabitants dry the young foliage, and plait it into hats.

The nut is applied to various purposes. Under certain preparations it was, and is, still considered by the Chinese, as an antidote to all poisons. Their doctors take the meat or albumen which lines the nut, and rub it down with water in a vessel of porphyry, mingling with it black, white, or red coral, as well as ebony and stags' horns, which are all pounded together: when the potion thus

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prepared has been drunk, the charm is considered perfect.

Of the shell, which is supposed to possess fewer medicinal properties, the great men form precious vessels to contain their tobacco, betel, lime, or whatever else they masticate; thus fancying they cannot be contaminated by anything noxious. Water kept in these shells is supposed to have the virtue of preserving its drinkers from all complaints.

The nuts, previous to 1743, were so highly prized in the Maldive Islands, that a subject was liable to suffer death if he were found to possess one, they being the peculiar property of the king, who sold them at an enormous price, viz., from 60 to 120 crowns each, those which measured the same in breadth as in length being the most prized; and such as were a foot in diameter being valued at 150 crowns.

Until the discovery of the tree itself in 1743, the nut alone was known, as occasionally found, either floating on the surface of the water, or thrown up on the shores of India,

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and numerous fables were consequently related about it.

By Garcia ab Orta it was stated to be a terrestrial production, which might have fallen by accident into the sea, and there petrified. "The Malay and Chinese sailors," observes Sir W. Hooker, quoting the words of another old author, "used to affirm that it was borne upon a tree deep under water, which was similar to a cocoa-nut tree, and was visible in placid bays, &c.; but that if they sought to dive after the tree, it instantly disappeared. The negro priests declared it to grow near the Island of Java, with its leaves and branches rising above the waters, in which a monstrous bird, or griffin, had its habitation, whence it used to sally forth nightly, and tear to pieces with its beak elephants, tigers, and rhinoceroses, whose flesh it carried to its nest. Furthermore, they avouched that ships were attracted by the waves that surrounded this tree, and there retained, the mariners falling a prey to the savage bird; so that the inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago always carefully avoid that spot."

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Under the good management of Mr. Mylius, the present governor, these islands promise to be very productive, and already export coffee, bullocks, and many other articles, to the Isle of France, of which they should be made quite independent.

But I must not dwell longer on this subject, or I fear the reader will get as impatient as the admiral would probably have been, had we delayed joining him. So, once more under weigh, with a continuation of pleasant weather, steering nearly parallel with the equator, we passed to the southward of Adoumatis Atoll, through the one-and-a-half degree channel, and made Acheen Head on the morning of the 14th of June. The previous day we boarded the Endora from Sydney to Calcutta, and a lucky boarding it was; for her master kindly furnished us with two sacks of potatoes,—*and such potatoes* as we had not tasted since we sailed from the shores of dear old England. By her we were happy to have the opportunity of sending letters to be forwarded by the overland mail.

Our passage through the Straits of Ma-

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lacca promised to be long, as at 6 A. M. Pulo Rondo was E. S. E. five leagues, with little or no wind. Pulo Rondo, as its name bespeaks, is a round island covered with jungle.

This afternoon, we set skysails and royal studsails, when, in company with the captain, I pulled round the ship. She was looking remarkably well; and not a little proud did I feel in my own heart while admiring the beautiful proportions of my *wooden wife*. An old first lieutenant alone will be able to enter into my feelings at such a moment.

On the 15th we tacked for the first time since quitting Simon's Bay, up to that date so favourable had been the winds for all our movements; but now we began to experience the true straits' weather, flying along at one time nine or ten knots with a *Sumatra*, and the next hour lying a perfect log upon the water, without a breath of wind to fill our sails; the heavy rains that attended these squalls leaving every part of the ship wet and uncomfortable. Frequently we saw the water-spout in all its awful magnificence. I cannot perhaps do better than quote Fal-

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coner's beautiful lines on the subject, which, when the reader makes due allowance for poetical imagination, is not overdrawn,—

While from the left approaching, we descry
A liquid column tow'ring shoot on high;
Its foaming base an angry whirlwind sweeps,
Where curling billows rouse the fearful deeps!
Still round and round the fluid vortex flies,
Scatt'ring dun night and horror through the skies!
The swift volution and th' enormous train,
Let sages vers'd in nature's lore explain.
The horrid apparition still draws nigh,
And white with foam the whirling surges fly.

On the 19th a porpoise was harpooned and safely "landed" on the deck,—many of our previous captures of the same kind having escaped off the grains. On the 20th the Island of Penang was in sight; a spot that recalls to my memory many happy days; when, having just passed my examination for lieutenant, and full of hope I gaily wandered over its verdant hills, while day after day fled rapidly by amidst the joyous group of my first and warmest friends. Alas! where are they now? What alterations, too, have a few short years made in this once delightful spot.

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After a tedious and harassing passage through the shoals, rocks, and islands, with which these straits are crowded, we arrived on the 24th of June off the once important town of Malacca, now dwindled down to the mere memento of what it once was! More than two centuries ago it was the principal mart for commerce in this part of the world; but, since it fell under the rule of the Portuguese and Dutch, it has been declining; nor is it likely ever to recover itself under the British rule. For Penang, at the northern end of the straits, deprives Malacca of all the Indian trade which passes through them; while the now flourishing settlement of Sincapore at the southern entrance, affords fine anchorage and every kind of refreshment for ships arriving from China, or any of the Australian settlements.

But the climate of Malacca is delightful, though within two or three degrees of the equator. It is constantly blessed with land and sea breezes, which, blowing over this narrow peninsula, render it fertile in the extreme. The town, fort, and old church have a

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pleasing and picturesque appearance to Eastern voyagers; while the surrounding country is covered with groves of the liveliest verdure imagination can paint. Indeed, this is the peculiar feature of the whole coast, islands, and rocks bordering the Malacca Straits. Their flowery shrubs extending to the waters make one almost wish that this wild and beautiful jungle may never fall before the hand of cultivation.

Still had we some distance to "progress" before entering the China seas; and our anxiety to proceed was not a little increased by having spoken a vessel, from which we gained information that the admiral had arrived at, and sailed from Sincapore, about a week previously. How sincerely was a breeze prayed for; and old Æolus had his eyes consigned to the other world on several occasions of a disappointing puff. Hard, indeed, was it to see the morning of the 20th arrive, and our ship not yet in Sincapore roads.

The Straits of Sincapore, lying off the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula, are formed by clusters of most beautiful

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islands, as various in shape, as they are indented with pleasant little sandy bays and coves, where turtle abound in the greatest plenty. I have frequently purchased turtle of three cwt. for one dollar. The Malays feast on their eggs, but have no taste for the calapash and calapee. The deep clear blue of the water added beauty to the scene, as threading our way through them we slipped silently along, the natives occasionally pulling out in their canoes, and offering fish, fruit, and shells for sale.

The Malays, like the Chinese, have a remarkable similarity of feature; in one you behold the face of the whole nation. If excited by jealousy, or other causes, they are most cunning and revengeful, and when "running a muck," stab all whom they meet with their kreeses, which are said to be poisoned with the juice of the upas tree. But this I do not believe, having known several wounds from them, which have shown no very bad symptoms; though I fancy there is no doubt but that the blades of many, after being heated red hot, are

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plunged into lime juice. The rust, which this produces in the grooves of the weapon, causes a very dangerous wound, but not so deadly as the gum of the celebrated or fabulous upas tree, the wonderful tale of which, as related by N. P. Foersch, I trust I shall be pardoned for introducing in this place.

"The *Bohun upas* is situated in the Island of Java, about twenty-seven leagues from Batavia. It is surrounded on all sides by a circle of high hills and mountains; and the country round it, to the distance of ten or twelve miles from the tree, is entirely barren. Not a tree, nor a shrub, nor even the least plant or grass, is to be seen. To this tree the criminals are sent for the poison, into which all warlike instruments are dipped.

"The poison is a gum that issues out like camphor from between the bark and the tree itself. Malefactors, condemned to death, are the only persons employed to fetch this poison, which is the sole chance they have of saving their lives. They are provided with a silver or tortoise-shell box, and are properly instructed how to proceed while

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they are upon their dangerous expedition. They are told to go to the tree 'before the wind,' so that the effluvia from the tree may be blown from them, and they are told to use the utmost dispatch. They are then sent to the old priest who lives on the confines of the desert, who prepares them for their fate by prayers and admonitions. When about to depart, he gives them a long leathern cap, with two glasses before their eyes, which comes down as far as their breast, and also provides them with a pair of leather gloves. They are then conducted by the priest and their relations, about two miles on their journey. Here the priest repeats his instructions, and tells them where they are to look for the tree: he shows them a hill which they are to ascend, and on the other side they will find a rivulet, which they are to follow, and which will conduct them directly to the upas tree. They now take leave of each other, and amidst prayers for their success the delinquents hasten away.

"The old priest assured me, that during his residence there, of thirty years, he had dis-

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missed upwards of seven hundred criminals; and that scarcely *two* out of *twenty* ever returned! All I could learn from one who returned was, that it stood on the borders of a rivulet; that it was of a middling size; that five or six young trees grew round it, but that no other shrub, plant, or atom of vegetation, was to be seen within a circuit of several miles; and that numerous skeletons were in every direction scattered round it."

But I had almost forgotten that all this time the Modeste has been stealing into the anchorage; the government house is in its proper bearing; the anchor is down, captain gone on shore, and the first lieutenant very busy getting a hundred things done that were wanted. In the meantime, the tank comes off with water, and that useful body of men the marines soon pump her out. These vessels carry from twenty-five to thirty tons, which they supply at the moderate charge of one dollar per ton.

Sincapore, which for its rapid growth is more remarkable than any other of the British possessions, owes its origin to the clear

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judgment of Sir Stamford Raffles, who at once saw the impulse the India country trade would receive from a settlement in such a favourable position, which must become the highway between India, China, and the Eastern Archipelago. It must be confessed that its natural productions would give employment to a very small number of vessels, but from the wise policy which made it a free port, it has become the modern emporium of the East.

Its population in 1819, when possession was first taken by the English, amounted to about 150 persons,—pirates and fishermen, whose huts were of the most wretched description. By a census taken in 1836, we find the number of its inhabitants had increased to the enormous amount of 29,984, and which, in 1840, had again advanced to about 35,000; more than half of which number reside in the town of Sincapore. The want of females is much felt. If ladies were more plentiful, Señor Malthus would be horrified. But seriously, this scarcity of women is a great evil, there not being in the

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town more than 4000, which might be remedied by encouraging female emigration from India.

Its population is of the most mixed and diversified character,—Britons, Indo-Britons, Portuguese, Americans, Parsees, Malays, Chinese, Jews, Arabs, Javanese, Bujes, and Ballinese, Siamese, Caffres, Chuliahs, and Klings, Hindustanees, and a hundred others that I do not recollect. The variety of costumes, to be met with in the bazaar, gives a lively character to this prosperous spot.

The Chinese and Malays form by far the greatest portion of these; of whom the Chinese are the most industrious and wealthy class. Most of the artizans will be found amongst the natives of China; while the Malays are fishermen, "hewers of wood, and drawers of water," and are ever ready to enter as sailors on board merchant vessels.

The natives of India are principally small shopkeepers, boatmen, and servants; and many a Madras Dubash may be met in the bazaar, where articles from all parts of the world are to be purchased.

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The Caffres are descendants of slaves who have been brought by the Arabs from the Abyssinian coast. But of all these the Chinese are the most useful; a common labourer of that nation will earn from four to six dollars per month, while the wages to any of the other colonists will be about half the sum.

When a country is so densly populated as the Chinese empire is, there must be a great deal of pauperism; and though emigration is contrary to the ancient law of China, the government connives at the lower orders quitting the country. A poor pennyless Chinese agrees with a captain of a junk to pay eight, ten, or twelve dollars for his passage to the Straits, for the payment of which the captain trusts to his honour. As soon as he arrives he accordingly joins some of the secret societies*, which are always formed by the Chinese, and thus his passage-money

* These societies, though useful to the emigrant, require to be strictly watched by the government, the members of them uniting to resist the laws, and to protect themselves from the just punishments they incur.

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is paid. Three months generally enables him to get clear of this debt, when he commences to make his own fortune. The greater portion of these emigrants come from the neighbourhood of Canton and Fokien.

The Island of Sincapore contains an area of about 275 square miles. The Straits of Salat Tabrao, which in former days were used by vessels bound into the China seas, separating it from the continent of Asia, are now forsaken for those of Sincapore, which offer a more speedy and safe navigation.

The gently undulating appearance of this island has a pleasing effect, the higher grounds seldom rising above 100 feet. Bukit Tima, the highest hill, does not attain an altitude of 200 feet. They are thickly covered with forests, many trees of which are well adapted for all purposes of house building. A long and level plain on the southern shores affords a good site for the town, which, standing on a natural lagoon, named Sincapore river, with the assistance of lighters, offers every facility for the loading and unloading of vessels while riding with the

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greatest security in the roads, free from the typhoons of the China seas, or the scarcely less furious gales of the Bay of Bengal.

The centre of this natural harbour is occupied by a fleet of small craft, in which whole families reside, seldom or ever, "from the cradle to the grave," being on shore. From all accounts, their manners and customs vary considerably from their brother bipeds.

A large joss-house, or Chinese temple, is in the course of erection, the carving and ornaments of which are beautifully and elaborately executed. The warehouses and merchants' dwellings are good substantial brick buildings, but generally the minor ones are wooden erections roofed with tiles. The resident's house, Mr. Bonham's, is situated on a small hill, embosomed in trees, amongst which may be found that nonpareil of fruits, the mangusteen, and which was now (June) just coming into season. The flag-staff near the residency is constantly announcing the arrival of vessels, the entries of which, in 1836, amounted to 203,574 tons.

All the islands which are in our possession

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in the Malacca Straits are used as penal settlements to India; and under the able and judicious management of the resident, the convicts are not allowed to feel transportation other than it is intended to be,—a situation of labour, correction, and punishment. Many of those cold-blooded and fanatical miscreants, the Thugs, are here paying the penalty of their horrid crimes: at one time there were about 1500 at Penang alone.

Our men found a seasonable relief in the supplies brought off by the bum-boats, and Jack might be seen revelling in all the joys of fresh eggs and pine apples. An Irishman in the crew amused all hands by a most original bull,—"Faith, of all the fruit at Sincapore, sure the eggs were the finest."

Much excitement prevailed in consequence of the admiral, on his arrival, directing the detention of some Chinese junks, but which were released as soon as it was understood that they had remained under the guarantee of the resident.

Having completed our supplies, we sailed from Sincapore, on the afternoon of the 28th

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of June, a small schooner yacht weighing at the same time, with the intention of trying her rate of sailing; but it was only *an intention*, for we passed her almost as if she had been at anchor. Ere the sun was down we had fairly entered into the China seas, during our passage across which, the weather being beautifully fine, we painted the ship inside and out, having first led all the ropes to spars lashed along the decks, so as to keep them clear of the bulwarks and masts.

On the night of the 11th of July, we made the Great Ladrones, and hove-to for daylight. These islands are situated on the eastern side of the great western channel into the River Tigris; are high, and may be approached with safety, the soundings being regular. At 4 A.M., bore up for Macao roads. As the sun rose, tinging the eastern horizon with red, the scene became exceedingly beautiful: the high, bold, though barren islands, tipped with his gorgeous rays, formed a fine contrast to the tropical scenery we had but a week or two since been passing through; while the river, covered with fishing-boats in every

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imaginable position, added a liveliness and spirit to the scene.

With light winds and an adverse tide, we made but little progress; and the Chow-Chow water rendering the ship unmanageable, we were obliged to anchor until the sea breeze set in. Chow-Chow water is a race or eddy caused by the meeting of tides, and without a very strong breeze, ships will not obey their helms. It is not confined to any part of the river, and cannot well be avoided.

Macao has a pleasing appearance from the anchorage; but I will defer any account of it until my Journal brings me to that period, when I became better able to form my opinion, which, from a long subsequent confinement at the town, I had ample opportunity of doing.

About 3 P. M. we succeeded in getting into the roads, where, in three fathoms water, we were the same number of miles from the town. We found here H. M. S. Larne, 18, Commander Blake, and Volage, 26, acting Captain Warren; the Druid, 44, Captain

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Smith, being at Toong-koo, and Hyacinth, 18, acting Commander Stewart, at the Bocca Tigris, enforcing the blockade.

Previously, however, to the 12th of July, viz., on the 21st of June, the division of the fleet from India destined to act against China arrived. It consisted of the ships whose names follow :—

Wellesley	74	Commodore, Sir J. Gordon Bremer, K.C.B., K.C.H., Commander-in-Chief. Captain, Thomas Maitland.
Conway	26	Captain, C. D. B. Bethune.
Alligator	26	Acting Captain, A. L. Kuper.
Cruiser	16	Commander, H. W. Giffard.
Algerine	10	Lieutenant, T. H. Mason.
Young Hebe		
Atalanta	Steam Vessels.	Capt. Rogers, India Navy.
Queen		Mr. Warden, H.E.C.S.
Madagascar		Mr. Dicey, H.E.C.S.

The ships, accompanied by twenty-one transports, having on board Her Majesty's 18th, 26th, and 49th regiments, with the native Bengal volunteers, detachments of artillery, and sappers, being furnished from the Bengal and Madras presidencies, proceeded, on the 22nd and 23rd, to the north-

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ward, for the purpose of occupying the island of Chusan as a *point d'appui* for our future operations. Sir Gordon Bremer, on his arrival, issued a notice, that the blockade of the port and river of Canton would be established on the 28th instant.

This, with the arrival of the force, so enraged the Canton authorities, that they issued, on the 27th, a proclamation, with the following graduated scale of rewards, to be given for the taking or destroying English ships, whether men-of-war or merchant-vessels, or for the taking or killing British subjects of all degrees. The following is an abstract of the rewards :—

"For the capture of a ship of 80 guns, twenty thousand dollars; for smaller ones, a diminished reward of one hundred dollars for every gun under 80.

"For utterly destroying the same by fire or otherwise, ten thousand dollars. For a merchant-vessel, all her cargo—whether goods or money, excepting guns, warlike instruments, or opium—to the captors, with an additional ten thousand for those vessels that

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have three masts; for those with two and a half mast (probably steamers), five thousand dollars; and for those with two masts, three thousand; for a large boat, three hundred; for a small boat, one hundred; for destroying by fire or sinking them, one-third of the above sum or sums.

"For taking alive a barbarian officer, if chief commander, five thousand dollars; five hundred to be deducted for every degree of rank lower. For the murder of the same, one-third of the before-named sum. For taking alive English barbarians, or Parsees, whether soldiers or sailors, one hundred dollars. For the murder of the same, one-fifth of the aforesaid sum. To those who seize the black-imps (sepoys and lascars), a proportionate reward.

"For abandoned natives who take supplies to the barbarians, 100 dollars. For those less guilty, a proportionate reward." "Those less guilty," refers to the native compradores and servants, who, though they quitted service at the time the edicts ordered them so to do, soon after returned to their employers; of which circumstance Lin was fully aware.

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This table of rewards has to the stranger a very alarming appearance; but it was well known to the residents, that few of the natives would attempt to avail themselves of the offered bounties, as they well knew they would never see the reward, even in case of a successful capture, as the high officers would always invent some false charge of informality to warrant them in withholding it. This paper is curious as being the first of the kind ever known to have emanated from this very singular government.

Captain Elliot assured the Chinese, by proclamations in their language, which were widely circulated, that no harm was intended to the peaceable inhabitants by the present expedition; that it was caused by Lin's bad treatment of the English; and that the force would only act against the mandarins, officers, and soldiers of the government. He ended by inviting them to continue their traffic as before with the British shipping.

The day previous to the blockade commencing, the American ships Panama and Kosciusko entered the Bocca Tigris.

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On the 28th June, the following named ships arrived from the Cape and England :—

Melville	74	Rear-admiral the Hon. G. Elliot, C.B., Commander-in-Chief and Plenipotentiary. Captain, the Hon. R. S. Dundas.
Blonde	42	Captain, Thomas Bourchier.
Pylades	16	Commander, T. V. Anson.
Enterprise	18	S. V. (from Bengal.)

Captain Elliot, now becoming joint plenipotentiary with the admiral, embarked from Macao on board the Melville; and that ship, accompanied by her partners, with the addition of the Madagascar and four transports, on the 30th proceeded to the northward.

July 11th, the Hong, Salt, and Chinchew merchants were ordered to raise and equip, at their own expense, 5,000 troops for the defence of the province; all intercourse with the English was again prohibited, and no Chinese vessels were to be allowed to leave any of the ports, except for the purpose of destroying the English barbarians; the destructions and murders of any of whom were represented as deserving the highest honours and rewards; but they were cautioned not

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to mistake other foreigners for English subjects.

To be entitled to the rewards offered, they were to produce the board with the vessel's name on it, which is usually attached to the stern of merchant-vessels, or the head of the individual killed.

These proclamations produced the worst feelings amongst the lower orders at *Canton;* and Hong coolies were obliged to be placed in the streets to guard the lives of the Americans and other foreigners remaining there.

On the 13th of July, the day after the Modeste anchored at Macao, Commander G. Elliot, in the Columbine, arrived from the Cape; when he found that, in consequence of the death of Lord J. Churchill, on the 4th ultimo, he had been promoted to the rank of captain, and appointed to the Volage, Captain Warren returning to his proper ship, the Hyacinth; while Clarke, the late flag-lieutenant, took command of the Columbine, and being attached to Captain Smith's squadron, enabled the Volage to proceed to the northward.

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Captain Smith having it in contemplation to make a display at the Bocca-Tigris of the force in the river, we were not allowed to proceed to Chusan until the 14th, on the morning of which day we worked out of the river, and continued beating to windward for some days, the winds perversely continuing in the north-east and eastern quarters. The weather had a suspicious appearance, and all hands being young in the China seas we daily expected a typhoon; for the symptoms of these gales are so variously described in Horsburgh's *Directory*, that it required no stretch of imagination to fancy one brewing up from the appearances we observed. During great part of the passage we were in sight of land, but at too great a distance for me to attempt any distinct description of its outline.

On the 21st of July, I find in my journal Ock-sue Island, bearing N.B.W.$\frac{1}{2}$W., five or six miles, described as moderately high, with a long low rugged island near it, on which appeared a singular square-looking hummock, which I suppose to be the Ragged

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Island, as named on Wyld's map of the war in China. At daylight, on the 22nd, we had a very distant but distinct view of the north end of Formosa, of which the mountain tops were enveloped in the clouds.

Taywan, or Formosa, is a large and fertile island, situated off the south-east coast of China, separating the Chinese from the Blue Sea. The Dutch, between two and three centuries ago, had a factory and fort, named New Zealand, on this island, in which they were introducing the arts of civilization. But their progress was stopped, and they were driven out of it in the year 1662, by Kuo-shing, or Koshinga, the son of a rich Chinese merchant, who fitted out a fleet to oppose those who are now the rulers, but were then the invaders of his country, — the Mantchow Tartars; but being defeated by them, he turned his arms against the Dutch, and took possession of Formosa. This island has a flourishing trade with Amoy, to which it exports large quantities of grain. Its eastern side is still inhabited by the aborigines, of whom little or nothing is at present known.

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Early on the 23rd, we made the Black Islands,—anything but black when we first saw them, for a brilliant sun was shining on, and giving them the appearance of our own dear chalky cliffs. But this delusion was dispelled as the glare subsided, when they resumed their own sombre hue. The land in shore, and extending to the northward of these islands, is diversified with a number of remarkable peaks. Owing to light winds, it was eight o'clock, P.M. of the 24th, before we brought up, about six miles outside of Mouse Island, or Shoo-shan; a small spot, as its name implies, situated mid-way between the Kwesan group and Front Island.

At six o'clock the next morning, we weighed, and stood in for Buffalo's Nose, or Newpe-shan,—a remarkable island, not unlike the proboscis of the animal after which it is named. A union jack was flying on a staff erected on the highest part of this island; and as we neared it, the master of a transport, stationed at the anchorage for the purpose, boarded us, and gave us the first intelligence of the capture, on the 5th

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instant, of Ting-hai,—the capital and sea-port of Chusan. He was also the bearer of orders prohibiting ships from entering the harbour of Chusan without a pilot, in consequence of her majesty's ship Melville, while in tow of the Atalanta steamer, having been swept by the tide upon a sunken rock in the southern passage, where she received such damage, as would require her being hove down.

From Buffalo's Nose to Gough's Channel the main land bends into a very deep and extensive bay, into which an estuary or lock opens, affording a free egress by water to the small town of Hose-sa-kan. The bay is studded with numerous islands in the best state of terrace-cultivation from the very water's edge to the highest pinnacle. A circular one reminded me much of the famed hanging gardens of Bagdad. Most part of this bay was staked for fishing; and it required a good look out, not to injure the poor fellows' means of living.

On arriving at Tree-a-Top Island, or Wan-chow-yu, the passage leads through a short

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strait, commonly called Gough's Channel, when it spreads out into an apparently magnificent river; the islands being so closely situated one to the other, that while sailing between them and the main land, it is hard to divest oneself of that idea.

We were surrounded by a whole fleet of fishing-boats, and the wind being very light with a smooth sea, these merry good-tempered fellows kept way with us easily; occasionally shearing alongside and passing in handfulls of the arbutus fruit; which compliment was returned by an equal quantity of biscuit. Three much larger boats were in shore, but did not excite our suspicions. From one of the islands a boat was sculled off with a Chinaman standing up in the bows, ko-tooing and chin-chining as if his head would come off. When he got alongside he handed up a small paper, on which a number of Chinese characters were drawn, but having no one on board acquainted with the language, it could not be deciphered. From his gestures we supposed him to be offering his services as a pilot to Chusan, which were declined.

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Some days afterwards, on the paper being placed before one of the interpreters, it proved to be a chop, informing us that the three boats before spoken of were plundering the inhabitants. Thus had these three piratical vessels been under our guns without any suspicion; and who would have entertained any, with the merry faces that were around us, indicating no symptom of fear? Yet, as it subsequently proved, they had come for the protection which our appearance afforded them.

About seven o'clock, the ship got up to Keeto Point, a high rocky bluff which juts into this cluster of islands, and forms the eastern promontory of the Chinese continent. Between this and Round Island we were swept with the "*speed of flames.*" The great depth of water in the numerous passages formed by the islands renders it impossible to anchor while the boiling eddying current, in its impetuous course, resembles more the swoln torrents of an overcharged river than the peaceful streams of the mighty ocean.

It was with any thing but pleasurable feel-

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ings we saw ourselves, in a light breeze with a powerless helm, swept at the mercy of this race towards this perpendicular precipice, above a hundred feet in height, against which our bowsprit must have snapped like a reed, had not the eccentric current swept us by. Ships need not fear danger at this spot, as we afterwards found the current sets clear of the shore; but the eddying race will frequently turn a ship round and round.

Notwithstanding the great depth, the yellow mud boils and bubbles up from the bottom, nor is the water more highly coloured, or more loaded with it at the Yellow River than it is at this spot.

Having passed this, a vessel was indistinctly seen under the high land of Deer Island (Seaoukeu Shan). It was now growing rapidly dark, and as we had to cross a strong tide, it became to strangers sufficiently puzzling to get to our anchorage; but a blue light soon produced an answer from the vessel under the land, whose crew hoisting a light, we were enabled to steer for the Elephant's Trunk.

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The tide setting us rapidly round its high bluff point, so close did we pass it, that we distinctly heard the conversation of the people on shore. Having anchored in twenty-three fathoms, Captain Eyres proceeded with the despatches to the commander-in-chief, lying in Chusan harbour, and returned the next morning, accompanied by Mr. Sprent, master of the Wellesley, who was to pilot us in; but the wind failing, the Madagascar steamer came out and took us in tow. When we were in the centre of the passage, and close to the spot where the Melville had taken the ground, a heavy squall burst upon the ship, which, with a lee tide, was driving us, steamer and all, fast back again; however, by letting go an anchor, we were brought up.

A whole fleet of Chinese junks, availing themselves of the fair wind, went flying by us with their usual large mat-sails reduced by several reefs. These sails are in shape not unlike square-headed lugs; are composed of a number of mats, sewed together, with from six to eight bamboo battans placed at equal distances, and horizontally across the sail; the

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space between each constituting a reef, which is always taken in on the foot, by lowering the haulyards and rolling-up on the battan, from the extreme end of each of which are lines so placed, as to meet at a centre to form the sheet, but yet each supporting its own battan. These are the universal sails for junks of all sizes, only differing in materials. Chinese junks and boats invariably *tack*, for the act of wearing would, from the jibbing of the sail, endanger their lightly-secured masts.

The squall over, the steamer took us once more in tow, and we soon entered the beautiful harbour of Chusan; the water of which was thickly covered by the men-of-war and transports, whose boats were pulling in every direction, employed in watering, and the various duties requisite in so numerous a fleet.

The Modeste, not having the good fortune to be present at the capture of the city of Tinghai, I shall attempt no account of the attack, referring the reader to Lord Jocelyn's very neat and concise narrative. The harbour has several entrances, through all of which the current runs with great rapidity

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and *eccentricity*, rendering necessary the greatest caution in entering it.

The passage first adopted by our ships from want of local knowledge, though the shortest, was certainly the worst and most unsafe, and as we became acquainted with the place was seldom afterwards used; the western entrance, though much more circuitous, being incomparably the best, and affording a very fair anchorage round the point on which the sappers were encamped, which Jack quickly christened "Spithead;" while another, further out, under Bell Island, was dubbed "St. Helens." By these names I shall in future designate them.

So much of my time was occupied in attending to the various duties of the ship, as she was to form one of the squadron about to proceed to the northward, that I had but little time to make observation on the city or its environs; therefore I shall offer but few remarks on them until our return from the Imperial Sea, when a sojourn of some weeks at "Spithead" and "St. Helens" afforded ample opportunity for observation.

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The troops and shipping were badly off for fresh provisions in consequence of a Chinese compradore, who had accompanied the expedition from Canton, having been seized on the 17th by the Chinese, and carried a prisoner to Ning-po. Repeated exertions were made for his recovery, but all proved unavailing; he had, poor fellow, fancied himself safe, and refused a guard of soldiers, for fear of alarming the peasantry, when foraging the country for supplies, which by his means, had been amply furnished previous to his captivity.

The only water we could get was of the very worst description and slightly brackish, which arose from the sluice of the canal where it was obtained being in a defective state, and admitting its neighbour the sea. I attribute all the after-sickness which prevailed on board the squadron in the Gulf of Petche-li, to this cause and this cause only. At one time, in the Modeste, out of a crew of 130 men, half the number were on the sick-list, suffering from severe diarrhœa, both lieutenants and the master being in the number.

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The admiral in his progress from Macao, when off Amoy on the 2nd of July, had dispatched the Blonde, Captain Bourchier, into that port for the purpose of delivering to the Chinese admiral on that station the despatch from Lord Palmerston to the Chinese ministers. About noon, the Blonde was anchored off the harbour, which was found to be strongly fortified. In about an hour a boat came alongside with a red flag flying, bearing the following inscription, "Hea fang ting seun chuen," and having on board five or six Chinese followers, *alias*, policemen, who stated that they were sent by the magistrates of the district to ascertain what the ship wanted; on being informed of her errand they said that their admiral was at Chinchew. A statement was then read to them explaining the nature of a flag of truce, and warning them of the consequences attendant on firing on such flag. Having repeatedly signified that they understood the purport of the paper, they were sent on shore to convey it to the authorities. They promised to return immediately with an answer,

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and did so within an hour, accompanied by a man of a higher rank, who brought back the paper, representing "that the district magistrates had taken a copy of it for their superior officers, but as they did not dare to hold communication with outside foreigners, they begged to return the original document. The bearer was informed that it could not be *received*, and that he *must* take it on shore again to the magistrates, which, after a little hesitation and referring to the others of the party, he consented to do.

The second lieutenant of the ship, Sir Frederick Nicholson, accompanied by Mr. Thom, the interpreter, were then sent in an *unarmed* cutter, with a flag of truce flying, to deliver Lord Palmerston's letter to the highest officer on the spot.

As the boat approached the shore it was observed that a considerable body of troops were drawn up with the apparent intention of preventing a landing; and no sooner had the boat's bow touched the beach than they advanced their weapons and rudely repulsed them, desiring them to be off and refusing

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to listen to them. Finding all attempts to communicate useless, Sir Frederick returned to the ship. Captain Bourchier, in the mean time, having observed what was going on, detained a junk, and sent a letter by the master of her to the shore, to which no answer was returned.

The morning of the 3rd being calm, it was found impossible to get the frigate near the batteries until noon; at which time her anchor was let go within five hundred yards of them. The jolly-boat, pulled by four boys, was then dispatched with Mr. Thom to make a last attempt to persuade these fool-hardy men to receive Lord Palmerston's letter, but the troops were drawn up as they had been on the previous day, and a vast crowd of spectators assembled.

The boat's stern being backed in, Mr. Thom attempted to open a communication with them; not succeeding in doing so he displayed a chop, written in large characters, setting forth the peaceable intention of the ship, and blaming the conduct of the mandarins, which so enraged them that they

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dashed into the water and made an attempt to seize the boat; but a few strokes of the oars soon put her beyond their reach. Mr. Thom then called to them to know if they would receive the letter; in reply to which they all roared out *no*, accompanied with much abuse.

The boat's crew immediately gave way for the ship, when a match-lock and two or three arrows were discharged at them, and struck the boat; and the whole detachment were about to follow it up with a volley, when at the instant two of the Blonde's thirty-two pound shot went bowling into the midst of these *valiant* fellows, and "Sauve qui peut" became the cry,—the whole mass, officers, soldiers, and spectators flying for their lives, leaving five or six of their number dead upon the beach.

The Blonde's guns were now turned on the forts and war-junks, in consequence of their having opened their fire upon her, which she quickly and effectually silenced, riddling the former, and sinking the latter.

The cutters, *armed*, were then dispatched

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to stick upon the walls of the fort a proclamation, stating the provocation which had led to the firing. This object, however, was not effected; for the Chinese opened a fire from some houses on the boats, when Captain Bourchier, not thinking it worth while to risk the lives of his men in this unimportant service, directed them to be recalled. They brought off several spears and shields left by their late foes.

The proclamation was then put into a bottle and thrown overboard, shortly after which it was picked up by a fisherman; and about 4 P.M. the ship was got under weigh, and proceeded to rejoin the admiral.

Admiral Elliot's first act, after his arrival at Chusan, was to declare a close blockade of the river and harbour of Ning-po; which was rigidly maintained during his absence to the northward, many junks being detained during that time, and sent into Chusan harbour.

Captain Bethune, of her majesty's ship Conway, opened a communication with the Chin-hai and Ning-po authorities, and hav-

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ing explained to them the purport of the white flag, or flag of truce, prevailed upon them to receive the copy of Lord Palmerston's despatch, which had been refused at Amoy. The next morning they returned it, stating, that they dared not forward such a chop to the celestial presence. However, there is but little doubt that the contents of it found its way to Pekin.

None of that hostility evinced at Amoy was at any time shown at Ning-po, though they imprisoned all the "English barbarians," or "black imps," that they could get hold of.

It was thought by those acquainted with the Chinese, that much had been gained; since their authorities, for the first time during our intercourse with China, at this period substituted the term "honourable nation," for the usual phrase "barbarians."

Her majesty's ships the Conway and Algerine, with Young Hebe and Kite, armed transports, were dispatched to examine and survey the Yan-tse-Kiang; the Alligator, with steamers, being employed to enforce the blockade of Ning-po.

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The Blenheim, 74, Captain Sir H. Le Fleming Senhouse, which arrived from England on the 28th of July, was to enter the harbour for the purpose of assisting in heaving down the Melville, because the Rattlesnake, to whom the purchase for effecting that object was to be secured, was not sufficiently spacious to allow of the requisite power being applied at the capstan, for heaving the keel of so large a body out of the water. The Volage also arrived from Macao, and came into harbour to complete her provisions and water.

The squadron appointed to proceed to the Imperial Sea, was to consist of the Wellesley,—to which the admiral had shifted his flag from the Melville, while she was under repair,—Blonde, Volage, Modeste, Pylades, and Madagascar, with two transports. The Pylades and transports had proceeded on the 27th to the Kwesan Islands, to await the admiral's arrival.

On the 29th of July we weighed, in company with the flag-ship, just weathering the flat off Junk Island. The Wellesley, being

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further to leeward, was obliged to bring up, while we threaded our way through the western channel. It was difficult enough to do this, the chart being imperfect, and the islands and passages very numerous, the breeze very fresh, and the tide running like a sluice. When off Keeto Point, it became evident that the Wellesley would not be able to quit the harbour that day. The captain intended to have anchored under the main land; but when within half a cable's length of it, we could get no soundings with forty fathoms of line, so the helm was put up, and the yards squared to enable us to reach our old berth under the Elephant's Trunk.

After the various duties of the day were over, Captain Eyres kindly offered me a seat in his boat. I proceeded with him to explore the Elephant's Trunk,—a long, narrow, and high island, full of fertile indentations, which have evidently been arms or bays of the sea, but have been rendered fit for cultivation by the deposit of the earthy matter previously held in suspension by these turbid waters. By the aid of man erecting embankments, these

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original estuaries have been converted into flourishing rice-grounds. Through the whole of this group of islands the same operations of nature and man may be traced.

The higher lands afforded a welcome supply of bringalls, vegetable marrows, and pumpkins, the inhabitants readily parting with them, and many of them at first refusing to accept payment. In this, however, they were not allowed to persist; and sixpences, with the likeness of our gracious queen upon them, soon found great favour in their sight, being often taken in preference when the quarter dollar was refused. Much salt was made by the villagers; and, as well as I could understand from the want of oral communication, the following was their process.

Over their salt pans is spread a sandy earth, upon which they pour in an abundance of water from the sea, and when it is entirely saturated therewith, and the water has been evaporated by the rays of the sun, this dried earth is chipped off to about one inch in depth. This is then trodden into vats, built

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of clay for the purpose, about seven feet long and four feet broad, having a sieve-like bottom formed of canes; sea-water is then poured on the top, and allowed to filter through this earth and cane-work into a reservoir beneath, from which a small gutter formed of half a bamboo, leads it into large round pans. Some of this liquid I tasted, and found it to be a very strong brine, which they were boiling down at the adjoining village in glazed earthen pans, placed in a row, with fires under each pan. It reminded me much of the interior of a boiling-house on a sugar estate in the West Indies.

After this we visited several of the small houses or huts; the walls of which were generally composed of mud, the roof being of wood. They consisted of two or more rooms, exceedingly dirty. In truth cleanliness must not be looked for in this country. No women were to be seen, and I suspect they had been conveyed to the mainland. The men were civil, and much amused with the opportunity of examining our dresses. The curiosity of the Chinese is insatiable.

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At most of the houses they brought out two stools of different heights, and with much quickness of perception, soon discovered the difference of our rank; making signs for the captain to be seated on the most elevated stool, while they placed the lower one for me on the left side of him that being considered by the Chinese the post of honour, instead of the right hand, as with us; but they never attempted to be seated in our presence,—a degree of politeness which the Chinese at Canton and Macao appeared to have quite forgotten.

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CHAPTER II.

TRIP TO THE MOUTH OF THE PEI-HO.

Clear the Islands—Pylades and transports join—Capture of Pirates—Heavy Squall—Enter Imperial Sea—Gulf of Petche-li—Board Junk—Proceed to the Pei-Ho—Pilots useless—Capture Chinaman—Mandarins spoil their Boots—Appearance of the Shore—Sounding River—Showie Pih, alias Captain White—Visit to Alcest Bay—Procure Bullocks—Good Water—Volage visits Mantchow Tartary—Wellesley at Toke—Plan for bringing Emperor to terms—Present to Squadron—Meeting with Keshen—Sickness disappears—Procure Millet—Arrangement for quitting Imperial Sea.

With the claws of an eagle, the heart of a kite,
Let flattery, and cunning, and falsehood unite,
To deceive all above us, oppress all below—
And we shall have fortune, whoever has woe.

DAVIS's Translation of the *Sorrows of Han*.

[The above character, drawn by a prime minister's own hand, may be justly applied to the] greater number of Mandarins in China.]

JULY the 30th, the Wellesley, in tow of two steamers, succeeded in getting out of the harbour by the western channel. The Volage, in tow of a third steamer, trying the southern; but the tide making too strong,

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she was obliged to follow in the flag-ship's wake; whence, about half-past two, the signal to weigh and follow to Buffalo's Nose was made, which the Blonde and Modeste quickly did, anchoring at nine to wait the tide.

By four o'clock in the afternoon of the 31st, the squadron was well clear of the islands, the Pylades and transports joining company at the same time. A junk was observed in shore, burnt to the water's edge. It appeared on communicating with the Pylades, that she had been set on fire by her people under the following circumstances; for the account of which I am indebted to my old and worthy messmate, Commander John Hay, then first lieutenant of that ship.

On the 29th instant, at about five P.M., the Pylades anchored off the Kewsan group, when the jolly-boat was sent to purchase some fish from a fishing-junk close by, the people of which pointed to three junks at anchor, between two and three miles in shore; informing the boat's crew by signs, that they were armed, fired guns, and cut people's heads off.

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Captain Anson being informed of these circumstances, and having attentively examined them with his telescope, felt convinced they were not war-junks, but pirates, and determined on sending the boats to ascertain if his opinion was right, and whether the fishermen's signs had been correctly understood. He directed the officer, if they were merchants' junks, not to interfere with them, but if of any other description, to bring them out.

In twenty minutes the boats were hoisted out, manned, armed, and proceeding on this duty under the command of Lieutenant Hay, in the ship's cutter, Lieutenant Touseau in the gig, Mr. Jefferies (mate), and Mr. Ford (mid.), being in the pinnace, while Mr. Rook (mid.) had charge of the jolly-boat, accompanied by Mr. Tweedale, the assistant-surgeon. The whole force consisted of six officers and forty-one seamen and marines. Mr. Hay, feeling that there would be sufficient work for all the boats, should resistance be offered, kept them well together. By the time they had nearly

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reached the suspected vessels, it was dark; but the junks were distinctly seen at anchor about three hundred yards distant, in a small bay close off a fishing village, with a space of about fifty yards between each. The boats now lay on their oars, formed, and loaded their small arms, the officers and men receiving strict injunctions not to fire or otherwise annoy the crews of the junks, unless first attacked, or in obedience to orders given by Lieutenant Hay to do so; the nearest junk to be the first boarded, the pinnace and jolly-boat doing so on the starboard side, while the cutter and gig would do the same on the port side.

The junks' decks were now seen covered with men; everything being ready, the word was given to *stretch out*, the boats dashing gallantly alongside under a heavy but ill-directed fire from match-locks, ginjals, and guns.

As the men attempted to board, they were knocked back into their boats with pikes and hooks, numerous stink-pots being thrown in at the same moment, the sulphurous

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vapour of which rendered some of the men temporally inefficient. The boats were therefore allowed to drop clear of the vessel, and some heavy and well-directed volleys were fired among the people on her crowded decks, the other junks supporting their comrades with their guns and ginjals; but it was of little avail against the quick firing of the boats' crews, and the pirates soon showed symptoms of having had enough. When the boats advanced a second time, our brave tars mounted the sides of the junk, her crew flying before them, and jumping into the sea.

Fleming, a fine young fellow, had a narrow escape, a gigantic Chinaman making a desperate cut at him with a heavy battle-axe. He had just time to save himself, by throwing up his musket as a guard, the stock of which was broken by the weight of the blow. He instantly threw his own away, and catching one from a shipmate, effectually prevented his antagonist from repeating the experiment. Having carried this vessel, the boats proceeded with the intention of attacking the two others, but they had, on seeing

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their comrade captured, cut their cables and made off. Lieutenant Hay immediately gave chase: it was however in vain, for by their numerous men and oars, they soon left his boats far behind; returning therefore to his prize, he dispatched his wounded men to the ship.

In this gallant affair two of the boat's crew were killed and five wounded, while the carnage on board the junk had been tremendous. On examining her the next morning, many dead bodies were found still on her decks; and two men were discovered concealed below, besides quantities of arms, powder, and opium. After removing all that was valuable, she was set on fire; the two men found on board were landed on the island, where they had not been very long, before they were brought to the Pylades by the head man of the village, with their hands lashed behind them, and a chop, which, for want of an interpreter, was laid by for the present. On being handed up the side, they were put in irons, which appeared to give great satisfaction to the men in the boat which had

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brought them off. Shortly after another boat arrived with a present of two goats for the captain, accompanied by a second chop, which shared the fate of the first. On their being afterwards translated by the interpreter attached to the expedition, they proved that Captain Anson's surmises had been perfectly right in supposing the destroyed junk and her companions to be piratical vessels.

In these chops the poor fishermen expressed the most lively feelings of gratitude for being delivered from the vagabonds, who had been for some time plundering them. The day after the engagement the Pylades fell in with the two which had escaped, but as they stood into shoal water, they avoided capture. A letter of thanks was forwarded by the admiral to Captain Anson, the officers and men who had been engaged in this smart little affair.

On the 1st of August we experienced one of the heaviest squalls we had yet met with on this coast; but as it brought a fair wind, no one was displeased. During the squall, the mercury in the barometer fell suddenly.

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The signal and blue lights of the squadron formed a brilliant contrast to the awful blackness of the heavens, while the roaring of the wind rendered the voice quite useless. Happily, from the precautions taken, its force was expended without damage to the masts or yards of the ships.

The length of our cruise being uncertain, the ship's companies were this day, put "six upon four," or two-thirds the usual allowance per man, of salt provisions and flour.

Average thermometer .	82
„ barometer . .	29—93

On the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, the weather was moderate, the transports and steamers had parted company, and we had entered into the Yellow Sea, which certainly deserves its name; the water having assumed that colour from the quantity of yellow mud intermixed with it.

On the 5th, the Volage, at seven in the morning, made the signal for land to the N.W. As the day became clear, the high rugged Cape of Chang-ting-tow became distinctly visible, forming a bold

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outline. Standing along the coast, within a moderate distance, and having fine clear weather, we were enabled to get a satisfactory view of land, which reminded us more of our own dear native scenery, than anything we had seen since quitting Great Britain; though during that time, we had, in the Modeste, visited the four quarters of the globe. On its becoming dark, we anchored in twelve fathoms. Shansan, or Great Bamboo Island, being E.½S., seven leagues.

Thermometer	. .	76
Barometer	. .	29—50

On the 6th, at 4, 30 A.M., the squadron weighed; and in obedience to a signal, directing the Modeste to pass within hail of the admiral, we made all sail; but suddenly the whole squadron were enveloped in a dense fog, and the admiral's signal guns were heard, directing the ships to anchor; in which situation we remained until two o'clock, when the weather clearing off, the vessels proceeded on their way. The Modeste passed to the southward of Black Hill

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or Hoo-ki Island; the Wellesley to the southward between it and Tung-yang or Quoin rock; while the Blonde passed between the Quoin and Kew-san or Little Bamboo Island; thus entering the Imperial Sea by three different routes. Off the north end of Hoo-ki are two most remarkable rocks resembling ships under sail; so perfect was the delusion, that, notwithstanding the assistance of glasses, it was for some time difficult to pronounce whether they were in reality rocks or ships.

The Gulf of Petche-li, or Imperial Sea, is about two hundred and forty miles in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, gradually narrowing towards its northern end. Its southern shore is bounded by the province of Chang-tong, its eastern by Petche-li, and its northern and eastern by Leao-Tong. The waters of this shallow sea are deeply tinged with the same shade as its yellow neighbour. Its entrance does not exceed fifty miles in breadth, and is studded with numerous islands. The whole eastern shore is evidently formed from deposits brought

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down by the various streams which discharge themselves into this extensive gulf. It is a problem for geologists to solve, in what space of time this whole gulf will become one vast alluvial district with the Pei-Ho and Ta-tching-Ho flowing through its then rich and productive soil.

The constant heavy northerly gales which prevail during the winter months, drive the waters out of the gulf at its narrow entrance, and preventing their reflux reduce this sea much in depth. Indeed during that period of the year, the spot where we were at anchor in three fathoms water, is nearly or quite dry.

On passing the Kei-san Islands we observed that they were well stocked with horned cattle. The main-land assumed a bold mountainous character, the sides of which were well cultivated, and on them cattle and sheep appeared to be much more numerous than we had before seen; while the hills were in many parts crowded with natives gazing at the sight of our passing squadron, to them so novel.

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On the 7th, the flag-ship made a telegraphic signal to us to examine a junk which was in sight, and if laden with grain, to detain her. We accordingly bore up for that purpose, when she perceiving our intention, did the same; but the attempt to escape was useless, and we quickly came up with her. We had, however, to fire several muskets at her before she would heave-to; when, having been dispatched for that purpose in an armed cutter, I got on board her, I found she was long and very low, her upper deck being nearly a wash with the water, with the two usual large sails, differing only in being made of cotton, with Chinese characters on them, marking her as a tribute junk. The after part of her deck was covered with a tent, under which was squatted an inferior mandarin, who retained his position, looking much frightened, and yet assuming an air of indignation, at one of the "barbarians" presuming to take possession of the helm of an imperial craft. The crew were assembled before the foremast on their knees, performing a perpetual koo-to; but, on being as-

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sured that we intended them no injury, recovered sufficient self-possession to assist in taking off the hatches. She was laden with a small green bean from which soy is made, therefore, being useless to us, she was not detained. The centre of this vessel was divided into several compartments, the bulk-heads being so strong as to make each completely independent in case of springing a leak. Some of these divisions contained the beans in bulk; one was a water-tank, and another, from its various contents, appeared to be doing duty as a store-room.

On the 8th we hove-to till daylight, and then anchored, the breeze increasing to a fresh gale from the north-east; steamers and transports rejoined company.

Thermometer . .	78
Barometer . .	29—76

On the 9th, at eleven A.M., we weighed with the squadron, and stood in towards the Pei-Ho, the smaller vessels being placed ahead and on the bows of the flag-ship, to show by signal every change in the depth of the water. The bottom was a soft mud,

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gradually shoaling from ten to seven fathoms; in which depth the Wellesley was anchored, while the Modeste stood in due west, seven miles nearer, towards the Pei-Ho, and brought up in five fathoms; from whence we could just distinguish from off the deck two large square buildings, apparently rising out of the sea; it was impossible to say whether they were forts or not.

At daylight on the 10th, we hoisted out the boats, and prepared them for service, the atmosphere being very hazy. At two P.M., I proceeded with the pinnace and cutter to the Madagascar steamer, where I found Captain Elliot, with four boats from the off-shore ships. Our destination was to be the Pei-Ho; the object of it to deliver a chop requiring the authorities to send a proper officer to receive Lord Palmerston's despatch, which was generally understood to contain the terms of restitution and compensation required by the British government, for the late wanton acts and injuries which had been committed by the local authorities at Canton against the British subjects.

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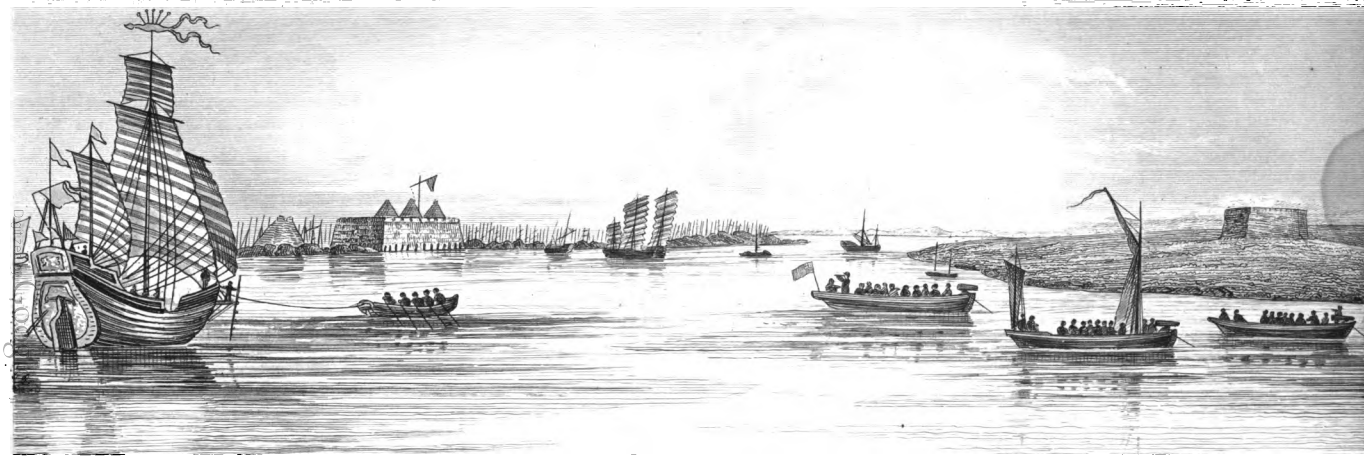

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The steamers with the boats in tow, standing towards the shore anchored in three fathoms; when it was found too late to think of entering the river that evening, our Chinese pilots stating the tide would not admit of our doing so. These men had been taken out of a junk, and were promised, if they performed their duty properly, their vessel should be restored to them as soon as the boats returned to their ships.

The steamer being anchored, Mr. Dicey very hospitably provided a dinner for all hands,—to me, especially, not an unwelcome sight,—for, griffin-like, I had left the ship without remembering Sir Dugald Dalgetty's maxim, and therefore had to exist on the donations of my friends. After a merry evening, and drinking success to the China expedition, each one endeavoured to look out the softest plank; mine must have been the hardest on board, for it was the very opposite to soft.

On the morning of the 11th all was bustle; the boats being prepared, at six o'clock started for the river; the flag-ship's barge

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leading, with Captain Elliot and several other gentlemen on board.

From the entrance of the river a flat extends about three miles out which becomes dry at low water, the force of the river keeping a deep passage open through it; but as the stream expands on the outer edge of the flat, a bar is formed on which there is only thirteen feet water at the top of the highest spring tide. The passage was designated by a few single bamboos which the Chinese had not found time wholly to remove, though some of the inner ones were cut down. Our Chinese pilots were of little use, for we soon found the outer bamboos without their assistance; they were much frightened for fear of meeting with the mandarins though dressed in seamen's jackets, having their tails coiled round their heads, over which was a straw hat; but to make certain of the poor fellows' safety, they were put into the cutter and sent back to the steamer. Just after crossing the bar a small boat was boarded with three men, out of which one was prevailed upon to enter the

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barge; but no sooner were questions put about the mandarins than he evinced the greatest alarm, and his companions, watching their opportunity, slipped away and ran their light skiff upon the mud, where we could not get near them, nor would anything tempt them to approach us again; and as our friend would know nothing, he was permitted to jump overboard; of which permission he quickly availed himself, splashing through the water with apparent delight.

A mandarin's boat being seen ahead driving all the boats and vessels into the river, Lieut. W. Maitland in the barge, accompanied by Captain Elliot, and others, proceeded to communicate with her, giving me directions to anchor with the other boats. On getting alongside they found several mandarins, who engaged to take the chop in, the barge following them. As she touched the beach, the mandarins on shore in their satin boots, regardless of the mud and water, ran up to their knees to meet her, begging they would come no nearer, and assured them that the Viceroy Keshen was at Toong-koo, where he

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had been some days awaiting the arrival of the squadron. On Lieutenant Maitland's delivering the letter, of which he was the bearer, a mounted mandarin immediately started with it for Toong-koo.

From where the boats were anchored I could with my glass distinguish that a very large concourse of people had assembled round the barge; and feeling that in case of any treachery on the part of the Chinese, the whole might be killed or carried off before I could render them any assistance, I determined to run closer in with the boats, so that our guns might be effective. Closing to within about a quarter of a mile I brought up, and it appeared afterwards, that at that very moment the mandarins were requesting that orders might be sent off to prohibit our nearer approach for *fear of alarming the people;* nor could they understand how their wishes had apparently been so instantaneously communicated to us. In about two hours the messenger returned from Keshen with a chop for the plenipotentiaries, stating that he had no authority to

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treat, but must first report the arrival of the squadron to Pekin, for which he would require six days.

This coast had a wretched appearance from the boats, being nearly a dead flat interspersed with small sand-hills, but not having a symptom of vegetation to relieve the eye. On each side of the entrance of the river there was an old and delapidated fort, fast falling to decay. On the top of the western one were several tents pitched; one of which was blue and yellow, with a red triangular flag flying over it. Numerous workmen were seen busy repairing these forts and throwing up entrenchments in all directions; and before the squadron finally quitted the coast the whole face of the shore bristled with cannon.

On our return out of the river the course to the bar was S.E. by E. We passed several of the largest junks we had ever seen, which were just entering the river. They were nearly as high out of the water as any of our two-decked ships, and appeared crowded with passengers, among whom could

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be distinguished many female heads; the hair, formed in a knot on the top of the head, pointing out their sex, which, otherwise, a stranger has difficulty in discovering, so much of the masculine attire being blended with their easy and comfortable dresses.

A-head of these floating cities were their boats, which were, in fact, miniature junks towing them over the bar. On platforms, fixed on each side of the junk, there were men trying the depth of water with long graduated bamboo poles, calling the soundings at every *pole*. These junks were gorgeously painted, having their stems much ornamented with the everlasting Chinese dragon. They were, we understood, just arrived from Japan. From the numerous masts we saw over the land, and the variety of vessels sailing in and out of this river, a most flourishing trade must be going on at the great buying and selling mouth, as this entrance is styled. The large vessels can only cross the bar at spring tides, and then are frequently obliged to discharge part of their cargo into smaller

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ones, which are kept for that purpose. During a strong breeze we experienced on the 18th, a large junk parted her cable, and tried to run for the river, but struck on the eastern side of the bar, where she was bilged, and formed an admirable beacon to us afterwards.

On the 12th, the steamers, with several boats of the squadron, proceeded to sound the bar, which the steamer crossed, and anchored close under the fort in five fathom water.

Orders having been issued the day before for the detention of all junks with provisions, the boats of the Volage had detained several; but from adverse wind and tide they were obliged to anchor some way from the ship.

A most melancholy occurrence took place on this day. Some seamen left in charge of a junk, while the officer was busied with others, forgetting their characters as British seamen, plundered the cabin of the Chinese captain, which, on the officer's return, was represented to him, and the things returned. A man, named Doyle, being pointed to as

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the head aggressor, stoutly denied the charge; but, on a search, the things were found in his possession, and he was assured that he would be reported on his return on board; and from the well known justness of his captain, he knew his punishment would be severe. Unfortunately, shortness of hands prevented the lieutenant from putting him in confinement; and from the number of the Chinese crew, general orders were given to keep them before the mast. This occurred on the evening of the 11th.

As the captain of the junk next morning came aft to his cabin, he was directed by Doyle to go forward, for which purpose he was turning, when Doyle discharged his musket, and the unfortunate Chinese fell shot through the head. The villain, throwing down his musket, continued eating his breakfast. The officer instantly jumped off the poop, and had him secured; and the wounded man was removed to the Volage, where he lingered for a few days. Doyle was afterwards tried by a court-martial, at which the witnesses swore that he (Doyle)

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had just cleaned his own musket, and laid it down with some others. On speaking to the Chinaman, he caught up what he supposed to be his own unloaded one, and pointed it at the man without any intention of injuring him. He was allowed the benefit of the error, and acquitted of the murder, but sentenced for the robbery to two years in the marshalsea, to be mulct of all pay, and to be turned out of her majesty's service with disgrace.

On the 13th and 14th, the weather being squally and disagreeable, with heavy rain, we collected four tons of rain water. This quantity was obtained by spreading all the awnings, and collecting every bucket and tub in the ship to catch the water as it ran from them.

Thermometer . .	78
Barometer . .	29—74

On the 16th, the admiral, accompanied by several boats of the squadron, proceeded with the Madagascar to the entrance of the river, the boats sounding and taking bearings preparatory to any required movement of the

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ships, when it was found that the Modeste and steamer, from their light draught, could cross the bar on the spring tides. While employed on this duty, a mandarin brought out the answer from Keshen; and on seeing the employment of the boats, was very angry, and wanted to know "why we came and did these things without leave." It was found, that the bearer of the chop, Showpei Pih (better known to us by the sobriquet of Captain White), an aide-de-camp of Keshen's, was empowered to receive Lord Palmerston's letter, and ten days were requested for the imperial court to consider the contents of it, and return their answer. This reasonable request was of course complied with, and the squadron on the following day was dispersed, visiting different parts of the Imperial Sea, to gain information and obtain supplies.

Showpei Pih was a captain in the imperial cavalry, and sported a white button to denote that rank; he appeared to be a shrewd clever fellow, was ever singing the praises of his master Keshen, and striving to impress

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us with the viceroy's good feeling towards the English; his wish for an amicable arrangement, in proof of which he had dissuaded the emperor from his intention of marching an army of Tartars to Chusan, and at once sweeping its invaders from the face of the earth.

Pih had a quick and observing eye; nothing new was allowed to pass unnoticed, but with true Chinese apathy he never evinced the slightest astonishment. During all his intercourse with us, he proved himself an amusing fellow, and had Keshen's star remained in the ascendant, he would probably have pushed himself to a *darker* button, but the fall of his master involved all the underlings.

On the 16th, the Blonde and Modeste, with the Enaurd transport, the latter having the water-casks of the flag-ship on board, weighed for the purpose of visiting Alceste Bay, on the coast of Leao-Tong, there to procure water and bullocks. At ten we made the Thunder and Lightning Islands, on which the surf was beating with tremen-

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dous violence, the roaring of it being heard by us five or six miles off. Light north-east winds.

Thermometer . .	86
Barometer . .	29—78

On the 17th, made the high land of Western China, which is composed of a lofty rugged range, combining every variety of form and figure to be found in mountain scenery. Some of our party imagined they could trace the great wall crossing many an elevated peak.

On the 18th we experienced hard blowing weather from the north-east with a very uncomfortable short sea; the Modeste, to the great satisfaction of all on board, beat the Blonde considerably, going in the wind's eye of her.

Thermometer . .	76
Barometer . .	29—71

On the 19th, daylight found the Blonde had parted company during the night.

Thermometer . .	89
Barometer . .	29—74

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On the 20th, made the eastern coast of Leao-Tong, which appears moderately high land. The Blonde rejoined at 7·30 P.M., when we anchored at Alceste Bay in seven fathoms; the watering-place bearing N.E. by E. three-quarters of a mile. This anchorage is completely open to south and north-west winds.

The features of the country were sterile, in comparison with what we had lately been accustomed to see. The hills, however, appear to furnish tolerable pasturage for cattle; of which we hoped to get a good supply, for herds of them were seen grazing in the neighbourhood. Fresh provisions began to be much wanted in the squadron. In the Modeste, in particular, during the preceding ten months, the crew had not been supplied with above twenty meals of fresh meat.

A beautiful stream of fresh water was found running into the sea, just round a bluff point, where a range of hills terminated and the millet cultivation commenced. Any ship watering here must be prepared with long *hoses* to conduct the stream into the

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boats, which have difficulty in approaching at low tide. Any quantity may be obtained by forming a temporary dam on the previous evening. This water to us was a delicious treat, after the filthy stuff we had been lately obliged to swallow.

On the 23rd of August we had not been able to purchase anything from the inhabitants, the mandarins having ordered them to have no dealings with us. These gentry had removed their buttons and other ensigns of office, so that we could not distinguish them from the other inhabitants.

It had been observed, that the cattle were penned at a peculiar spot every night; Captain Bourchier therefore determined to attempt their capture. At two in the morning, the Blonde's and our boats started on that service, but as they touched the beach, it became evident the Chinese expected such a visit, for the alarm was given by a man evidently placed there on the look out.

On his giving the alarm, the pen was opened, when out scampered the cattle, spreading in every direction, apparently as

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loath to have anything to do with us as their masters. Three beasts only, with two calves, were brought on board; two or three having escaped on the return of the men to the boats, proving the party to be no borderers, or they would have better understood how to manage a raid.

After the party had embarked, the owners of the bullocks ventured alongside the Blonde, where they were kindly received, and ten dollars a-head paid them for their cattle, with which sum they were highly pleased, and signed a paper in Chinese to that effect, and that they considered the whole a very fair proceeding; but they could not be prevailed on to part with any more voluntarily.

This evidently arose from the orders of the mandarins, to which may be added their own disinclination to part with what they considered too useful an animal to kill for their own consumption; and yet it is a most extraordinary fact, that in no part of China is milk made use of.

Nothing afforded the inhabitants of Chusan so much amusement as the milking of the

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goats. The cattle on this peninsula and adjacent islands are a small mountain-breed, seldom weighing more than three hundred weight; they are smooth-skinned, short in the horn, with a fine antelope-shaped leg.

The transport heaving in sight, we were obliged to continue watering; but the Blonde's boats, after the ship's company's dinner-hour, made a most successful foray on an island to the southward, where they captured sixty-eight head in all, which were speedily embarked. Ducks and fowls were procured in a similar manner, and when the owners did not appear, the value of them was left in their houses. It afforded the youngsters much amusement to chase and catch the feathered tribe. On one occasion, Captain Eyres came suddenly on a house where a fresh-dressed salad was standing on a table, but the inmates had fled, numerous marks of *little feet* on the sand shewing that they had escaped into a neighbouring wood, and were no doubt watching the proceedings of their visitors.

At another house was an old man who

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had evidently considered it useless to get out of the way. He was very civil, furnished the party with poultry and vegetables, for which he accepted payment, but with naïveté asked, "What wind would be fair for the ships to go away with?"—thus shewing how glad the poor creatures would be when they saw our sails set.

In the evening I landed at the watering-place, where many Chinese had assembled, and one or two fowls were brought for barter. I purchased several very prettily coloured bangles, made of a peculiar glassy-looking china. I found uniform buttons in great request; but the old bangle-merchant was evidently not a resident of the place, and understood the full value of the precious metal; for he would not part with his wares for any other consideration. A button off my jacket purchased me a crystal burning lens; and for a whole set of five buttons, a man that was in mourning cut off from his jacket his glass ones, substituting the crown and anchor in their place.

My watch afforded them much amusement.

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One of the party appeared by his signs to understand the use of it. I took good care not to allow it out of my hands when open; but I should recommend any person dealing with these people, to take a telescope, and lend it to some one in the crowd. The insatiate curiosity of the Chinese will keep them from pressing or annoying him, while his glass will be in perfect safety; for I have seen no act or attempt to pilfer on the part of the inhabitants of these islands. I cannot say as much for Canton. Captain Basil Hall in his *Narrative*, gives an account of a singular instance of honesty met with at Oei-hai-oi.

Of eggs we could find very few, and they were generally carefully treasured. In one house a pile of bricks, or what appeared bricks, excited our curiosity; for they proved on examination to be square lumps of paddy pounded up together, and thus kept for the purpose of distilling shamsoo from them,—an ardent spirit in general use throughout China.

Their bed places were most curious, being

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long stone troughs, which in winter have hot embers placed in them; when, being covered over with large stones, the bedding is spread at top, thus making a warm and comfortable resting-place. The population does not appear to be great, and there was much waste land perfectly capable of cultivation.

Captain Eyres, in pulling round the bays, fell in with some junks laden with coals, of which he brought a specimen away. They seemed to be bright, and of good appearance. As far as he could understand from the crews of the junks, they came from mines about thirty miles off. This is well worthy of attention, and may be the means of supplying any of our steamers which may be employed for the future in the Gulf of Petche-li. The men appeared a small race, clothed in the usual loose jacket and trowsers, with the everlasting Chinese accompaniments,—fan and pipe; the latter of which, while out of use, is generally carried in the hand, while the fan with most of them is slipped inside the boot.

A Chinese crowd has a droll appearance from their pipes being held up over the head

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to prevent the pressure of the crowd injuring them. About this part of the coast we could never get a sight of the women, but the marks of their small footsteps were frequently observed, proving their true Chinese origin. There is no doubt but that this peninsula, with the adjacent islands, were peopled by the Chinese during the invasion of the Tartars,—thousands of them preferring emigration to submitting to their savage conquerors.

Thermometer . .	80
Barometer . .	30—10

On the 26th, thirty minutes after two, P.M., these poor people's wishes were gratified, the squadron making sail to rejoin the admiral.

On the 27th, a fresh north-east wind soon carried us to an anchorage near the flag-ship, where we learnt that the answer from the court which ought to have come yesterday, had not yet arrived; but the Volage telegraphed that a boat was wishing to communicate.

While we had been visiting Alceste Bay, the Volage, Captain George Elliot, had proceeded to Mantchow Tartary, a tributary

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of China. Brass buttons appeared to be of much more value there, than we had found them: for they were able to purchase a sheep and poultry for a single one. They were received kindly by the inhabitants, who made no difficulty in bartering provisions. In the rambles and shooting excursions of the officers in the interior, they found quantities of game. The men are a fine race, and evinced the same jealousy in the care of their women, which had been generally observed in most other parts of the Chinese empire.

The Wellesley and Pylades proceeded to Toke, where they were supplied with water and bullocks, and a present was sent off by the head mandarin of some very fine grapes. As the ships stood in, the women were seen escaping over a hill behind the town. They must fancy us a horridly ungallant set of beings, thus to fly from us in all directions.

On the 28th, the chop not having arrived, the admiral proceeded in the steamer, in which was embarked part of the Wellesley's marines, with the boats of the squadron, to buoy the bar and passage to the river. The

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remaining marines of the Wellesley being put on board the Modeste, we weighed and stood in, full of the hope of entering the Pei-Ho. But alas! our hopes were to be disappointed; for the admiral met a chop coming out, announcing that the emperor had appointed Keshen his commissioner to treat with us. This was much to be regretted; for if we had entered the river, we might have brought them to some definite treaty. Tien-sing, a large commercial city at the junction of the Yun-liang canal, would then have been at our mercy; a few hours being sufficient to convey the steamer and ship there, when once over the bar; and I apprehend the blaze of the grain junks there assembled, with that of the city if requisite, would have aroused the emperor to a sense of his danger, and our own terms might have been obtained.

Though occupying a longer time, the same object would be gained by a strict blockade of the mouths of the rivers Pei-Ho, San-Ho, and Chan-tou, supported by one established up the Yang-tse-kiang. It would be still

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more efficient up the Hong-Ho, or Yellow River, in both cases off the spot where the great canal intersects these rivers. Thus Pekin, which depends for its supplies on the southern provinces, would be reduced to the greatest straits for provisions, which would instantly produce a rising in the capital, and probably end in the overthrow of the present dynasty. Of this the emperor is so well aware, that he takes great care that no want of grain or provisions shall be felt in the capital.

On the morning of the 29th, junks came out with supplies for the fleet, sent by the emperor's orders. They consisted of twenty bullocks, two hundred sheep, with numerous ducks and fowls, and one or two thousand eggs; but as they were far advanced towards chickenhood, the boatmen were allowed to retain them,—and much pleased did they appear with their booty. The mandarins in charge of the presents wore brass buttons, and were fine specimens of men. From under the button, and extending behind, they had two strips of fur, about six inches long. I have since learnt that these squirrel

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tails, as we named them, were worn to denote that the country was in an unquiet state.

These gentry were handed down to the cabin, and made no objection to a glass of gin; but the true way to a Chinaman's heart, is with a glass of cherry-brandy: it possesses a charm he cannot resist; nor is that much to be wondered at,—

A fellow feeling makes us wond'rous kind.

The Wellesley's marines were sent back in the steamer, and the meeting with Keshen was finally arranged to take place on the morrow. Captain Elliot, the second plenipotentiary, was to attend on the part of the British; it being considered, that the dignity of the admiral, as chief plenipotentiary, might suffer in the eyes of the Chinese, if a meeting should take place between him and an envoy from the celestial court, not accredited with full plenipotentiary powers.

At 10 P.M., the Madagascar stopping near us, Captain Eyres went on board her to attend Captain Elliot at the conference to be held the next day, when a true Chinese entertainment was served up; but their

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feasts have been described so often before, and this one, in particular, so ably by Lord Jocelyn, that I shall pass it by, merely noticing one or two little circumstances which appear to have escaped his lordship's observation.

When some of the party had succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the mandarins, and managed to get a stolen peep at what was to be seen beyond the screens which surrounded the tents where they were regaled, several of the lower orders were squatted on their haunches, with the hope of getting a sight of the English barbarians who were within. The moment they caught the eye of any of the party, they made signs to them to *punch* the mandarins; but the instant a *button* appeared, they waddled off at a most extraordinary pace, considering that they still retained their squatting position.

The conference lasted six hours. One of Keshen's principal arguments was, that we had better take a part of our demand, or we might, perchance, lose all. He freely admitted that the English had been ill-used,

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and that it would have served Lin right, if we had retaliated at Canton, and punished him; but not being empowered to enter into a definitive treaty, he required twelve days more to communicate with the court. The time was granted, and the parties returned to their respective ships.

Any remuneration for the supplies was refused; it being stated, that all the members of the mission were considered the emperor's guests. On the 31st, a junk brought off a supply of fodder for the cattle, principally shamsoo-grains; the bullocks eat it greedily. There was also a small proportion of millet for the sheep and fowls.

On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of September, nothing of note occurred; we experienced fine weather, with southerly winds. The diarrhœa had, by the goodness of Providence, gradually yielded under the able treatment of our surgeon, Mr. B. M'Avoy. He had administered, internally, a pill with caustic, which was attended with most beneficial effects.

Thermometer	78
Barometer	29—78 to 29—73

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On the 4th, the admiral, accompanied by a party from the squadron, made a trip in the Madagascar steamer, to the great wall, and approached very near to the point of the coast where it terminates. The wall appears to descend the side of the very rugged and precipitous mountains in this neighbourhood, stretching for about three miles in a northerly direction across a plain, where it reaches a ledge of rocks, with which it is itself intermixed, until the end of it is lost in the neighbouring sea.

The latitude of the spot .	40° 4′ N.
Longitude	120° 2′ E.

On the 5th, we had been ordered to take millet from the junks that might pass us laden with that grain, and pay them one dollar per hundred pounds. The officer on this duty was furnished with a series of qnestions in Chinese, to which he was to make the master write down the answers. On one occasion, when it was sent to the interpreter for translation, their answers proved to be a protest against the proceeding. They were government boats; the

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price paid was more than its real value, and it was absolutely necessary to have it, to prevent the cattle from perishing.

On the 7th, it blew a fresh gale from the S.E.

Thermometer . .	80
Barometer . .	29—73

On the 10th, Showpei Pih again made his appearance, announcing the appointment of Keshen as high commissioner, to proceed to Canton to inquire into and redress the wrongs which had there been inflicted on us; further requesting, in the emperor's name, that the British plenipotentiary should there meet him for a final arrangement, and that a suspension of hostilities should take place pending the negotiation.

These terms were finally agreed to. I concurred with some others in thinking, as I still do, that the emperor would not make the concessions required, by several of which he would "loose face" in the eyes of his subjects; and in doubting whether that Keshen held out his fallacious hopes of a redress of all our grievances with any

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other idea than that of gaining time, and getting the squadron out of the Imperial Sea; in which quarter he was fully aware of their inability to make on the moment any effective resistance. Yet the plenipotentiaries could do no otherwise with any degree of propriety, than accede to the emperor's apparently reasonable wishes. Might they not naturally suppose, that the Pekin cabinet had used the same argument to the emperor, which was ever urged to us, "that the acts complained of, and now first known to them, had occurred at Canton, and therefore that Canton was the proper place for them to be inquired into and redressed?"

Had the plenipotentiaries in their very first intercourse with the court, assumed that in all its promises it was insincere, and consequently refused to have met the third dignitary of the Chinese empire, as had been proposed, would they not have been justly subjected to a censure from their own government, for a presumed foreknowledge that the emperor intended to play false? And the strongest reason of all is, that the

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season was too far advanced for offensive operations taking place in the gulf, with full and proper effect. This step, therefore, did not, in fact, retard any ulterior operations.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th were occupied in trying the man belonging to the Volage who had shot the Chinese on board the junk on the 12th ultimo.

Thermometer	. .	70
Barometer	. .	29—79

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CHAPTER III.

RETURN TO CHUSAN.

Quit the Pei-Ho—Toke—City of Tong-Tchou-foo—Chinese Ladies—Defences—Manning the Guns—Chinese Banners—Arms—Paoupang—Jealousy of Mandarins—Mia-tau Group—Artificial Harbour—Dandy Mandarin—Dissertation on Tails—Mandarin's Attendant—The Cabin and Curiosity—Rejoin Admiral—Mountain of Flesh—His Appetite—Admiration of Fatness—Mia-tau—Loss of Pinnace—Use of Telescope — Chinese Déjeuné — Sculling Boats — Chin-chin not Chin-chin—Quelpert—Ordered off Ning-po—Wreck of Kite—Cruel treatment of her Crew—Dimensions of Cages—Death of Prisoners—Their Release—Capture of Captain Anstruther.—Attempt to kidnap Messrs. Bencraft and Prattent.

But when the vessel is on quicksands cast,
The flowing tide does more the sinking haste.—DRYDEN.

THE expedition to the Pei-Ho having thus far apparently brought to a peaceable conclusion the discussion in question, nothing farther remained to be done off that river.

On the 15th of September, therefore, the squadron proceeded on its return to Chusan; and, standing across this shallow sea, anchored on the evening of the 16th, off a small village on the Island of Toke, where

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it was expected we should meet with an old Canton compradore, with whom the Pylades had communicated on a former visit; but it appeared that he had been taken into Keshen's service, and was at the present moment at Tong-Tchou-foo.

Toke is a small but fertile island, situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Petche-li, and affords a good anchorage and a convenient watering-place. The village consisted of about one hundred houses.

On the 17th, having embarked Captain Charles Elliot and Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, we weighed in the Modeste, and stood over for Tong-Tchou-foo, a large walled city on the north side of the peninsula of Chang-Tong. The walls of this city are high and strongly built. From the gradual rise of the ground on which they stand, we were enabled to make out, that they were about thirty feet thick, affording an elevated and good road round the city, with a castellated parapet, on which were mounted a few miserable wall-pieces.

The houses, which occupied about half the

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inclosed space, were principally the single-storied stone and brick buildings of China. Towards the upper end of the town there was a spacious and handsome joss-house; while the red poles*, in sundry directions, pointed out the locality of the mandarins, whose residence in this city appeared more numerous than we had generally observed. On the western angle of the town was a small and ill-constructed fort, with several smart-looking houses near it, gorgeously ornamented with the elaborate but disproportioned Chinese roof; at the windows of which we could with our glasses distinguish many pretty little female faces, whose husbands, little dreaming of the peeping Toms, had not taken their usual jealous precautions; so that their *cara sposas* had a full opportunity of exposing their charms to the "barbarian eye." The ladies of China paint white and red, with the eye-brows marked with fine black lines.

From our distant view their theatrically-painted faces had a pretty and pleasing ap-

* Throughout China, two red poles are erected before the residence of government officers.

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pearance; their hair being turned up, and forming a knot at the top of the head, on each side of which bouquets of artificial flowers were fixed. I really must apologize for allowing the ladies thus to run away with my pen in the middle of a Chinese position, and beg my readers to hurry back with me to the lines.

From the fort I was speaking of, and beyond the walls, a high bluff point extended into the sea, whence an invading force would command the interior of the city. To the east there is an extensive flat; from which the ground gradually rises to the hills in the rear of the town, that were thickly covered with millet-fields, interspersed with rich pasturage lands; the cattle that were kept there were removed on our arrival. Along the face of this flat, and close to, and pointing seaward, was an evidently new but strong field-work, having from forty to fifty pieces of cannon mounted along its face. On each flank of this apparently strong position were large encampments of troops, surrounded by numerous wall-pieces on triangular and portable stands.

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Our appearance evidently created an immense sensation among the tiger-hearted Tartars. The troops were hurrying out in great numbers, but without the most distant attempt at discipline. They very soon mounted the works, pitching a standard at each gun. Their standards were yellow, red, green with red borders, and the reverse. This evidently proved the presence of both description of troops; for the Tartar part of the Chinese army are ranged in eight divisions of 10,000 men, each under the colours yellow, white, red, and blue, or one of the colours bordered by the other; thus constituting a standing army of 80,000 men. The Chinese are distinguished by a green banner with a red border, or the reverse, on the centre of which is displayed the large gilt dragon of China.

The walls of the city were crowded by thousands of the inhabitants to gaze on the barbarian *sanpan*. As she stood along shore and close to their lines, we could see many of the fairer portion of the creation amongst the crowd, no doubt led there by the inherent curiosity of their sex.

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On the hills, to the westward of the town, were several detachments of troops. Altogether, this amphitheatre of hills spotted with white and party-coloured tents, the gorgeous banners, and picturesque grouping of the troops, made the *coup d'œil* highly pleasing. Their arms consisted of matchlocks, bows and arrows, with a great variety of pikes and swords; the mandarins being mounted on strong but small-looking nags.

Mr. Morrison landed as bearer of a chop, requesting a supply of provisions; and while he was conducting the negotiation the galley returned with Paoupang, the compradore we were in search of, and who was afterwards at Canton the means of communication between Keshen and the British plenipotentiary.

This man had formerly been compradore to Mr. Dent's establishment at Canton, but on the arrival of Lin, had thought it advisable to leave that neighbourhood. He had now been given, or more probably had purchased the rank of an inferior mandarin. He wore a winter cap with brass button, *minus* the squirrel tails, which we had before seen at the Pei-Ho.

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His robe was a rich puce-coloured satin, reaching about half way down the legs, which were encased in black satin boots, with the sole about two inches in thickness. He professed much regard for the English: but, like all his countrymen, he was a most intolerable liar. He had many wonderful tales of his escapes since leaving Canton, and assured us that the mandarins had squeezed him to the tune of *seventy thousand dollars*. This I afterwards ascertained was the greatest "Munchausen" of all his tales; for he could never have been possessed of one-tenth part of that sum. In alluding to the present dispute and Keshen's trip to the south, he remarked in his Canton-English,—"Can go makee talkee;—my thinkee no can settee this pigeon;—must makee that emperor cry."

When, as he supposed, he had astounded us with the magnificence of his new master, we got rid of our talkative friend. Mr. Morrison returned in the boat that landed him, the mandarins having promised to furnish us with the supplies we required. We learnt from him that though he had been

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treated with much courtesy, yet on his expressing a wish to go into the city, he met with a good humoured and civil refusal; the mandarins laughing, and assuring him that "it was such a poor place as not to be worth seeing—in fact, he would laugh at it." It is almost incredible with what jealousy the Chinese guard their cities and country from the observation of strangers.

Our object being attained, we made sail to rejoin the admiral at Toke, where we arrived by four o'clock on the morning of the 18th.

Captain Elliot returning to the flag-ship, we bore up for the Mia-tau group, and anchored about ten o'clock under the south side of the centre island, bearing the same name; Wellesley, Volage, and transport, arriving about an hour after.

These islands are moderately high, the hilly parts affording a very scanty vegetation; while the valleys luxuriate in the usual Chinese plenty. Between this and the easternmost island, Kei-san, there is an anchorage much frequented by junks. From the westernmost one, Shan-san, an extensive

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reef runs out, shoaling suddenly from seventeen fathoms. We found on getting those soundings it was requisite to put the helm immediately down, and then before the ship was round we had shoaled to a half-five.

On the 19th we were once more under all sail with Captain Elliot and a party for Tong-Tchou-foo. At eight, Captain Elliot and Mr. Morrison landed on the west side the town, within a natural break-water formed by a small reef, the surf being too heavy on the beach to admit of their doing so there. We now saw from the ship a large artificial harbour, formed by strongly built stone piers, between which an opening was left capable of admitting the largest junks, but which are obliged to go in and out at high water; several were at this time, it being low water, aground in the harbour.

Captain Elliot, after a short stay, returned to the ship, accompanied by Paoupang; when the boat immediately went back for a mandarin and his servant, who were very anxious to accompany Captain Elliot, no doubt as spies on the compradore, of whom they

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evinced great jealousy; but as Captain Elliot wanted to have some private communication with this man, the smallness of the boat afforded a ready opportunity for declining their company.

This mandarin was one of the finest specimens of a man I had till then seen in China. He stood about six feet two or three inches, and was apparently stout in proportion. He wore the winter cap, the crown of which was of a puce-coloured satin, shaped to, and fitting close to the head, with a brim of black velvet* turned sharply up all round, the front and hinder parts rising rather higher than the sides,—in fact, in shape much resembling the paper boats we make for children. On the dome-shaped top of this he wore a white crystal sexangular button, in a handsome setting. Beneath this was a one-eyed peacock's feather falling down between his shoulders. This feather was set in green jade-stone about two inches long, beyond which about ten inches of the

* This, with the lower orders, is frequently formed of black cloth.

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feather projected, and though apparently but one, is, in fact, formed of several most beautifully united.

His ma-kwa, or riding-coat, was of fine blue camlet, the large sleeves of which extended about half down the fore-arm, and the skirts nearly to the hip. Under this he wore a richly-figured blue silk jacket, the sleeves equally large, but reaching nearly to the wrist, and the skirts sufficiently long to display the full beauty of it below the ma-kwa. These loose dresses always fold over the right breast, and are fastened from top to bottom with loops and buttons. His *unwhisperables* were of a light blue figured Nankin crape, cut much in the modern Greek style, being immediately below the knee tucked into the black satin mandarin boots, that in shape much resemble the old hessian, once so common in this country, with soles some two inches thick, the sides of which were kept nicely white, Warren's jet not yet having been introduced. To this part of his dress a Chinese dandy pays as much attention as our exquisites do to the formation of a "Humby."

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The figure was completed by his apparently warlike, but really peaceable implements, which no respectable Chinaman would be seen without, viz., the fan with its highly-worked sheath; the purse or tobacco-pouch, in the exquisite embroidery of which great ingenuity is displayed; a variety of silver tooth and ear-picks, with a pocket for his watch, the belt to which these are attached having a small leather case fixed to it, to contain his flint and steel. I had nearly forgotten his tail,—his beautiful tail, the pride of every Chinaman's heart,—and in this case, if all his own, he might well be proud of it. I am afraid to say how thick it was, but it reached half way down his leg, and I would defy Rowland's macassar to give a finer gloss. In short, he was the very epitome of a dandified Chinese cavalry officer.

On the subjugation of China by the Tartars an edict was issued, requiring the whole nation to shave the front of the head, and to plat the residue of the hair into a tail, the length and size of which is considered in China a great mark of masculine beauty, in

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consequence of which great quantities of false hair are worked up with the natural hair, the ends being finished off with black silk cord. To the lower orders it is a useful ornament. I remember, on one occasion, to have seen a Chinaman flogging his pig along with it, while on another, the servant was dusting the table. When their belligerent propensities are excited, which is not often, they will twist each other's tails round their hands, pulling with all their strength, and enduring the most horrible torture until one or the other cries out *peccavi*.

While this mandarin was mounting the ship's side, his fan had been allowed to rest in its case; but he was no sooner firmly on the deck, than out flew this everlasting companion of a Chinaman: nor do I think he could have accomplished his salute without it.

The attendant was not so tall, but an exceedingly muscular and powerful fellow,

His leg would make a chairman stare;

and I think they must have been picked out

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to make us imagine we had nothing but such herculean men to deal with.

White Button having been ushered into the captain's cabin, where cherry brandy was produced, a long conversation took place between Paoupang and Captain Elliot relative to the supplies, &c.; the mandarin frequently asked what they were saying. On one occasion, when Paoupang had been exposing and abusing the whole fraternity, he answered White Button's query by assuring him, that he was telling the captain what very good persons mandarins were, and that the people liked them very much. Paoupang, at all events, made such a good story out of the mandarin's refusing to receive any compensation for the *small quantity* of supplies furnished, and of their squeezing him ultimately for it, that it was arranged that he should be paid for all that should have been supplied when he came to Canton with Keshen, by which means he would prevent the mandarins at this place getting hold of the dollars. That the inhabitants generally were squeezed and made to give their cattle as a bribe for us to

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go away, I think very possible; but I do not think they would have ventured to squeeze an attaché of Keshen's: at all events, he succeeded in squeezing us.

Having got rid of our visitors, the chief of whom seemed rather disgusted at his servant having found his way to the lower deck, where he had been revelling in the charms of a glass of grog, we made sail to rejoin the admiral; but light winds and a lee tide, obliged us to anchor for the night.

On the 20th, having anchored near the flag-ship, about 6 A.M., Captain Elliot and his party quitted us. Captain Eyres, waiting on the admiral shortly afterwards, found him entertaining at breakfast a party of mandarins from Mia-tau, the chief of whom was a huge mountain of flesh,—say *thirty-five* stone,—whose great boast was, that a sheep only furnished him with three days' supply of food; and to judge from the justice they all did to the substantial breakfast before them, it could easily be believed; the mountain, for I forget his name, taking up the slices of mutton as they were sent to him, on his fork,

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and coiling them down his throat, much as a Neapolitan swallows his macaroni; nor did he appear to have satisfied the cravings of his inordinate appetite, after all his exertions. By his countrymen he must be thought much of, fatness with them being a sure sign of wealth and wisdom; for they argue, "a thin man must be a poor devil, or he would have wisdom to eat more."

The lusty individual is also considered an especial favourite with the gods, who are represented as good portly characters. Being myself "none of Pharaoh's lean kine," I always met with a certain degree of deference.

It being arranged that the Volage, Modeste, and the two transports, should remain to embark the bullocks and other supplies, the Wellesley sailed for Chusan about eleven o'clock, the Madagascar having proceeded there some days before; while the Blonde and Pylades were gone to visit the coast of the Corea.

The men having dined, I pulled to the beach, with an intention of viewing the village,

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a few hundred yards inland, in which however I did not succeed, being quietly and civilly turned back; and even an attempt to mount their barren hills was met by the same jealous opposition. Thus I was not able to proceed, in any one direction, two hundred yards from the spot on which I landed. On making them understand, by signs, that I wanted to purchase vegetables, a market was quickly established on the beach; the sellers soon became so numerous, that good bargains were to be obtained; and when we quitted the shore, they were still flocking over the hills laden with the produce of their lands. Considerable difficulty was experienced in our payments, the islanders having no change; in fact, the common metal coin of China was not to be seen amongst them.

The whole male population of the island appeared to have hurried down, to satisfy, not only their eyes, but their sense of feeling. Every part of our dress was examined, —the buttons, the tails of our coats, the fineness of which appeared to excite great astonishment and to be much admired.

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Finding it impossible to succeed in a trip inland, and the steward having completed his purchases, I returned to the ship, happy to escape this frowsy crowd.

Every Chinaman is frowsy; which I attribute to a paucity of white linen, their inner clothing being composed of coloured materials, and but rarely washed. The mandarins, with all their gorgeous apparel, are equally dirty in their under garments. I do not recollect ever having seen a Chinese performing his ablutions.

On the 21st, early in the morning, the ships were got under weigh, and we returned to Tong-Tchou-foo. We came to anchor in a small bay to the westward of the bluff point before spoken of, hoisted the boats out and sent them on shore for the purpose of embarking the bullocks which had been collected to meet our requisition. Captains G. Elliot and Eyres having landed for the purpose of having an interview with the mandarins, some slight delay took place, during which the fresh breeze which then was blowing rapidly increased to a gale, and, in con-

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sequence, heavy rollers setting suddenly in, the Modeste's pinnace was capsized at her anchorage. The Volage's being a little further out, made sail, and succeeded in getting off shore.

About noon, Captain Elliot, in his whale-boat, was enabled to get through the surf, and passing under the ship's stern, relieved our anxiety for the crew of the pinnace, by informing us that they had all got safely to the shore, where they would remain with Captain Eyres until the gale abated. The mandarins civilly pitched tents for them, and supplied them liberally with provisions. In this instance they so far waived their usual jealousy, that they furnished Captain Eyres with a horse, and allowed him to take a short ride along the hills.

At half-past three P.M., the gale still continuing, the Modeste weighed in company with the Volage, and picked up a berth further off shore; for had we remained where we were, and parted in the night, we should have shared the fate of our poor pinnace, whose cable being cut through by the rocks,

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went on shore, and was literally split in halves.

On the morning of the 22nd, the gale having subsided, we stood in shore to pick up Captain Eyres and the men, anchoring rather outside the berth we quitted yesterday.

Captain Eyres, by threatening the mandarins with a complaint to the viceroy, had prevailed upon them to promise they would send the cattle off; and the junks were already coming out with them on board. After breakfast I visited the wreck of the pinnace to see what could be saved; and having set the carpenters to work, amused myself with the natives, who began to assemble in great number, and by their curiosity, impeded them materially. However, getting my telescope from the boat, I formed a centre of attraction, round which they swarmed in crowds, and thereby afforded me almost as much amusement as my glass did the Chinese; for moving from one place to the other, which I could do amongst the rocks much faster than they in their thick shoes could, the whole

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crowd would follow me, the young, the old, and the lame, for the sake of a *peep;* it was quite immaterial to the greater number, whether the glass was pointed at the clouds or at the shipping. That they could have the pleasure of looking through it was sufficient gratification. Getting tired of the crowd, I lent the glass to one of the most respectable looking of them, explaining to him how to adjust the focus; and he continued to amuse all those who pressed round him, and left us to pursue our work without further interruption.

My telescope had made me a universal favourite; and on returning to the boat, I found some old gentlemen had resolved to evince their good will by an impromptu meal. Having so lately breakfasted, I was not prepared to do justice to it, which I expressed to them by the most civil and expressive signs I could think of; at which my hospitable entertainers appeared to be much distressed. The dishes looked savoury and tempting, being served up in clean wooden trays and Chinese basins. It was evidently a quickly got up *déjeuné,* and might have

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served for a dozen people. There were fowls split open and grilled, being browned with a good deal of art; others, again, stewed; another dish contained fowls' livers floating in oil, and which was especially brought to my notice. There were eggs with their embryo chickens, variously prepared; and a stew, which, for aught I know, might have been young puppies, consisted of very white and delicate-looking meat. Without doubt their puppies are very good, for they are exceedingly particular in the breed, which they rear for their tables, selecting only those that are white, and fattening them with meal as carefully as we do any of our domestic animals.

Poultry, vegetables, and fruit were brought for sale to the beach in great abundance, and were both cheap and good. A small unleavened cake appeared very common; they were about two inches in diameter, perfectly white, with a pink coloured stamp consisting of Chinese characters on the top. We found them a very good substitute for bread.

Having collected all that could be saved

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of our once fine boat, I took leave of my hospitable entertainers, and shoved off. Just then an unhappy duck that had been purchased popped his head up above the gunwale of the boat, at which a Chinaman made a snatch, and caught it by the neck; but as the drake was securely tied to his mate, he could not get it out of the boat, and a shake of a boat-hook, with a look from the bowman, made Fokie quickly drop his expected prize, —the whole crowd, though about ten yards off, shrinking back at the mere threatening attitude of the seaman. But in common justice, I must add, this was the only attempt at theft which I saw on this part of the coast.

In the afternoon the junks were very busy bringing off the bullocks; and the wind falling almost to a calm, boats were dispatched from the shore to tow them out to us. These were evidently pressed for the purpose; soldiers and mandarins were seen compelling the crews to work. It was astonishing to observe the rate at which these boats towed the large junks, when it was seen that they had only a single scull over the stern. In

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one of the largest of them I counted eight men, working a long straight oar. The system of sculling, which is practised universally in China, is a great improvement on the common English method of doing so. The fulcrum being a short iron pin, with a small round head, which fits into a hollow on the oar, thus making a ball and socket, by which means they reduce the friction to the least possible quantity. I have seen two and three sculls to the same boat, one on each quarter, and the other over the stern.

Our method of hoisting in the bullocks afforded the Chinese boatmen much amusement. It was simply a rope round the neck, with one of the fore legs passed under it. This prevents the rope from jamming sufficiently tight to strangle the animal, which is drawn up, and may be landed on the deck without a struggle. It is by far the best method I have seen for hoisting cattle into a ship.

We had been supplied at this place with one hundred and fifty bullocks, twenty sheep, many dozens of poultry, with flour, &c. The

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bullocks were embarked solely for the use of the troops at Chusan, where they proved a most seasonable supply.

Paoupang had been on board the transport collecting different articles, which he intended as presents for the mandarins. From one of the transports he purchased a telescope. Captain Eyres gave him several tumblers and wine glasses,—all glass ware being highly prized by the Chinese. You cannot make them a present they more highly value. A uniform sword, which he was most anxious to obtain for the head mandarin, we could not spare him. He suggested to Captain Elliot, that the mandarins would be much pleased by our chin-chiming them; and as they had really been very civil in all our intercourse with them, the ships were accordingly dressed with the flags. But this must have had a direct contrary effect to that which was intended; for quickly all the boats and junks were ordered on shore by the mandarins, and a boat was sent off for Paoupang, the compradore; and when we came to consider it, we could not be much

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surprised at the result, for a great display of flags is the way in which the Chinese express defiance and martial preparations, so that our intended compliment must by them have been considered as a threat. No doubt Paoupang, on landing, explained it to them; but this we had no opportunity of ascertaining, as we sailed at daylight on the morning of the 23rd. Having to visit the Island of Quelpert, we parted company with the Volage, and made all sail for that island.

On the morning of the 26th, we made an island, S. ½ E. nine or ten leagues. This was high land, with a flat, circular top, and was not laid down in any charts on board. We christened it "Strange Island," when it bore by compass, E.N.E. ten miles; the latitude was 34° 42′ N. longitude 125° 7′ E. At noon we saw Alceste Island, S. by E., having a high, cone-like appearance; but we did not pass sufficiently near to distinguish if it was cultivated.

At 10 P.M., hauled to the wind for daylight. On the 27th, at 4, we bore up, and made sail. As the day broke, Quelpert ap-

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peared close to us in the N.W. This island is large, and from a few miles inland gradually rises, until it terminates in a very lofty cone. The cultivation appears carried on in the Chinese system; but we have had so little intercourse with the natives, that we know nothing certain of their origin. On a small island on the south-east side, there were numerous cattle feeding; and having ascertained this, which was the occasion of our visit, we shaped a course for Chusan, flying along at about ten knots per hour.

On the 28th we rejoined the Volage and transports off Mouse Island, and on the 30th anchored in our old berth under the Elephant's Trunk.

On the 1st of October, her majesty's brig Cruizer sailed for India *vid* Macao, to carry the mail; thus affording us all a welcome opportunity for writing to our friends in dear England; a pleasure we had been debarred from for some months. At half-past ten we weighed to join the flag-ship at her anchorage at "Spithead;" but as we came in sight of the flag, the signal was made to close the

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Blenheim, then anchored off "St. Helens," in company with which ship we were to proceed off Ning-po, there to demand the release of Mrs. Noble, the widow of the late master of the Kite; of Captain Anstruther, who had been kidnapped near Ting-hai on the 16th of September; and of Lieutenant Douglas, R.N., with the marines and crew of the late armed transport Kite.

In a former part of this Narrative, I alluded to the Kite as accompanying her majesty's ship Conway on a survey up the Yang-tse-kiang, then about to be commenced under the directions of Captain C. R. D. Bethune. The Kite was a vessel of about three hundred tons, fitted with two of the Wellesley's quarter-deck guns, having in addition to her lascar crew, six marines, with the same number of first-class boys. Lieutenant Douglas was placed in charge of her; and her master, Mr. Noble, received an acting order as a second master in her majesty's navy.

On the 10th of September, Captain Bethune thought it requisite to dispatch her to Chusan; and having cleared the sands at

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the entrance of the river; it was considered by all on board that their future passage was free from danger. How futile were their calculations! for on the 15th, when running with a fair breeze, the vessel struck on a quicksand*, and almost as instantly went over on her broadside, with a most tremendous crash, precipitating all hands into the sea, and Mrs. Noble amongst the number; but her poor little infant being unfortunately in the cabin, was drowned, and Mr. Noble is supposed to have shared the same fate in an attempt to save his child, for he was never seen after the striking of the vessel.

As she thus lay with her masts and yards in the water, the crew on rising to the surface after their immersion, were enabled to get hold of them, and by their means climb up to the side of the vessel. Lieutenant Douglas, the chief mate, Mrs. Noble, and two boys, succeeded in getting into the boat, which they were obliged to cut clear of the wreck, the sea making a breach over them, and threatening them with momentary destruction. No sooner was she free, than the

* This shoal is not laid down on any of the charts.

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current set her quickly from the wreck; and with their greatest exertions, having only two oars, they could not prevent it, but were soon swept out of sight of it; when letting go the boat's anchor, they brought up to await the change of tide, with a hope of being able to render some assistance to the poor fellows left behind.

Again were their efforts vain, and as they drifted at some distance past her, the whole hull appeared to have settled in the sand, the main-top alone appearing above the water. Early on the morning of the 16th, they were again driven in the direction of the wreck, but with as little means of communication as before; and on the return tide in the afternoon they passed it for the last time, as on the morning of the 17th not a vestige of the wreck could be seen; and it was evident that the poor fellows had been taken off the wreck by the Chinese, or swept by the overwhelming waters into eternity.

Thus had these five unhappy beings, one a helpless female, been for more than two days without sustenance,—knowing that they were

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close to the shore of a cruel enemy's coast, without a sail, with only two oars, (one of which was washed away this very night,) to navigate their frail bark, driven backwards and forwards at the mercy of the tides, expecting every instant to be overwhelmed by the breakers around them! But aid was near when hope seemed to have deserted them. He, who is ever watching over his creatures, and who is ever able to save and deliver those who seek him, as to his mysterious mercy may seem fit, was at that moment sending them assistance: a Chinese fishing-boat approached, and the good Samaritans on board of it shared with them what they had; true, it was only dry rice and water, but it was given with a willing heart and free hand. A piece of old matting was also added for the purpose of making a sail.

They were now comparatively comfortable, hoping to get to Chusan in the evening. A pumpkin floating by,—probably one from their unfortunate ship,—was shared amongst the party. On the 18th, they fell in with another boat, and requested to be taken to

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Chusan, for doing which they should be liberally rewarded. They promised accordingly, but instead of doing so towed their boat into a canal, where the inhabitants on the adjoining shore treated them with kindness and gave them some boiled rice, at the same time promising soon to convey them where they desired to go to. Instead of which they betrayed them to a mandarin and a party of soldiers.

Where shall I find language sufficiently strong to execrate the beings that inflicted the following cruelties on wrecked and starving fellow-creatures. No sooner had they been seized, than to prevent their running away, they were bastinadoed immediately above the knee, or almost indeed upon it. They would have treated Mrs. Noble in the same brutal and still more indecent manner had it not been for the spirited conduct of Mr. Douglas, notwithstanding which she received several blows. Chains were then put around their necks, and they were hurried, or rather dragged to a large city, through the streets of which they were

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paraded, subjected to the hootings and howlings of the assembled savages. They were then taken to a joss-house, where one of the soldiers forcibly wrenched Mrs. Noble's wedding-ring from her finger. Lieutenant Douglas's hands were here lashed behind him, and he was in that condition secured to a post. Mrs. Noble, the mate, and one boy, were then dragged on about twenty miles further, being exhibited in several towns through which they passed; and no doubt from what afterwards appeared, Mrs. Noble was represented as sister to the queen of the barbarians, who had been taken prisoner by these marauders, for valiant soldiers I cannot call them.

At night they stopped at another depôt of gods, where they were furnished with a small quantity of food and clothes; the chain which had been put round their necks being fastened to the wall of their prison. Here they were detained two days, and were allowed to perform their ablutions for the first time; their descriptions were accurately taken down, and they themselves constantly

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exposed to the gaze of the rabble. Mrs. Noble was taken to be looked at by the head mandarin's wife and daughter; and one would have imagined that the softer sex would have shown her some compassion in her suffering and distressed state. No! if it were possible, they treated her with more contumely than her captors had done.

At the expiration of the two days they were led out into the court where stood three cages about three feet high, two feet six inches long, by fourteen inches in breadth. The entrance to these cruel prisons was by a trap-door on the top, through which they were forced, the end of their chain being locked to the cover. A bamboo was then thrust between the bars, and under the top; in this painful position were they carried by two men from town to town, to be exhibited, like wild beasts, to the assembled multitudes; but as if all this was not sufficient suffering, they were loaded with heavy irons and chains on the legs and arms, Mrs. Noble being allowed for the present to dispense with the latter ones. The cages were then

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The Method in which the English Prisoners, at Ning-po, were carried about.

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at length placed in boats, and after proceeding along a canal for three nights and two days, they arrived at Ning-po, never having been permitted to quit their cages for any purpose during that period.

Lieutenant Douglas and the other boy had been conveyed in a similar manner, but by a different route, thus affording the inhabitants of a greater extent of country a peep at the barbarians. The crew, as it was hoped might be the case, had been taken off the wreck by some Chinese boats, and were also prisoners at this place, Ning-po. Several of these poor fellows died during their imprisonment, from the hardships they had to endure.

After their arrival at Ning-po, Mrs. Noble was supplied with gay Chinese female apparel; a small and very dirty room was appropriated to her, but devoid of furniture with the exception of her cage, which became her bed at night, and her carriage by day, for into it she was always thrust, which was the case with the whole party, when commanded to dine with the mandarins, which at first was frequently the case until

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their curiosity became satiated, when both the officers and lady were left more to themselves. The questions that the mandarins would ask on these occasions were most ridiculous. They were very anxious to know what relations they were to the Queen of England, and if Mrs. Noble was not her sister; and would believe nothing to the contrary. Their irons were still kept on, and it was not until the 25th of October they were released from them.

The seamen and marines were most cruelly used, being always kept in heavy irons, allowed no exercise, but confined in a dark dirty prison, with hardly space to turn in. The poor fellows who paid the debt of nature in this horrible hole, were, though wasted to skeletons, kept in their irons even to their last moments,—notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of Lieutenant Douglas, who was debarred from seeing his men, when it was found what a deep interest he took in everything that concerned them.

It had been arranged by their friends at Ting-hai, with some of the lower mandarins

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at Ning-po, that for a certain sum of money the officers should be allowed to escape,—in fact, safely landed at Chusan; but this they positively refused to accede to, unless their men were to accompany them; well knowing that their escape would be visited on those left behind. A secret correspondence was carried on with the head-quarters at Chusan, until the 22nd of February, 1841; when, agreeably with the treaty concluded at Canton between Captain Elliot and Keshen, they were summoned before the mandarins, and informed that they were immediately to be sent to Chin-hai, and from thence to Chusan. Their congratulations to one another were unbounded at the prospect of a release after a captivity of five months and some few days.

Chairs were now provided for them, and they were conveyed to the entrance of the Ning-po river, where they were received courteously by the mandarins, and intrusted with a message from Commissioner Elepoo to the commanding officer at Chusan, that he must get the ships away as speedily as pos-

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sible, as they had great numbers of troops ready to take possession on their quitting.

Captain P. Anstruther, before alluded to as one of the prisoners at Ning-po, had been in the practice of walking about the country in the neighbourhood of Ting-hai, for the purpose of sketching and surveying, and was apparently much liked by the inhabitants, who frequently gathered round him, while he, by signs and by laughing, would hold a merry intercourse with them.

On the 16th of September he left the camp in the early part of the forenoon, accompanied by an old lascar servant, who carried a spade for the purpose of erecting flag-staves on the hills, to assist in taking angles for his survey. Having ascended a pass between the hills to the westward of the city, he placed a flag on a knoll, taking several angles from thence; after which he continued to walk down the western side of the pass; but soon perceived that he had gone too far for his safety, and that he and his servant were followed by a number of armed Chinese. Taking no apparent notice of

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them, he turned to the left with an intention of ascending the hill,—but he had scarcely attempted to do so, when his old lascar was furiously attacked by a Chinese soldier, armed with a hoe. The poor old man ran to his master for assistance, who, seizing the spade from his hand, quickly drove the assailant back, when the whole body made a charge with formidable double-pronged spears. There was now nothing left but to run for it; Captain Anstruther bidding the old lascar to make the best of his way up the hill, hoping by that means to save the poor fellow's life; but he would not hear of quitting his master.

Their pursuers closing round them, Capt. Anstruther saw that his only chance now was to fight his way through a long valley which led to the city. He therefore proceeded slowly through it, now and then turning to keep his pursuers in check. By the beating of gongs and the shouting of his assailants all the inhabitants of the valley became aroused, and a strong party being thus assembled at a gorge, escape became almost hope-

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less. At a turn in the path, Captain A. found it necessary to charge a party assembled there with sticks and stones, in doing which he was separated from his poor old servant, who was quickly knocked down. His master, though surrounded by numbers, used every effort to fight his way to his assistance, but in vain; and he had the pain of seeing the villains pounding the poor old man's head with large stones, which must have shortly ended his life*.

Flight now became utterly impossible; and Captain Anstruther, who expected a similar fate to that which had befallen his servant, attacked, and determined to make the rascals pay dearly for his life. Numbers of course prevailed, and he was at length stretched on the ground by a heavy blow on the head, when the villains rushing on him, bound his hands behind him and his ankles together, thrusting a large gag into his mouth; when they commenced bambooing

* Captain Anstruther, who is as generous as he is brave, has sent to school and pensioned the sons of this faithful old man.

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him over the knee caps; thus effectually, if the ropes had not previously done it, preventing him from running away. He was then put in a chair and carried to a village about ten miles from the Sapper's Point, where he was detained until dusk; his tormentors constantly repeating the word Ningpo, and making signs that he would have his head cut off when he got there*.

The following day he was landed at that city, and being carried before the district magistrates, was questioned as to the number of men, ships, &c., at Chusan. After this, having heavy irons put on his legs, he was sent to the prison, where, as soon as he arrived, an iron ring was secured round his neck, hand-cuffs were put on him, locked to the end of a stick about a foot long, which was again fastened to the ring round his neck.

* It is a singular coincidence, that the night but one prior to his capture, Captain Anstruther had aroused the whole artillery camp with his cries, when, on proceeding to his quarters, he was found fast asleep, and on being awakened, said he had been dreaming that the Chinese were carrying him off, tied hands and feet, on a pole, and gagged, and within sight of the camp.

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He was then forced to get into a wooden cage, the height and length of which to the outer part of the bars was one yard each way. the breadth being two feet. When he was in the cage, a chain was fastened from the side of it to the irons on his legs, and for further security at night, the goaler with a light always slept close by his cage; and thus was he kept for upwards of four weeks.

The day after his arrival he was again taken before the magistrate, and questioned much about the steamers, the captured compradore being the interpreter. Captain Anstruther offered to draw them a representation of one, with which his examiner was so much pleased, that he gave him and the compradore a dinner; and he was also furnished with hot water, and allowed to wash the blood and dirt off his person.

Captain Anstruther, by his skill in drawing, so far gained the hearts of the mandarins, that he was soon allowed a new cage, *actually three feet six inches by two feet one inch.* This was comparative comfort.

After his powers as an artist had been dis-

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covered, he was constantly requested to employ his talents to depict every variety of article or animal which was foreign to them; and many of his sketches are supposed to have met the imperial eye.

It is to be hoped, that this talented officer will gratify the world by an account of what he has witnessed in China. I know no person more equal to the task.

During the month of September, two young gentlemen of the Blenheim, Mr. W. Bencraft and Mr. Prattent, had a most narrow escape from sharing the fate of Captain Anstruther. Their adventure shows so much coolness and presence of mind in two youngsters, that it would be the height of injustice to them not to give a detailed account of their gallant conduct.

These young gentlemen, the former of whom numbered little more than 14 years, while the latter had not passed the age of 16, feeling that salt junk was alike disagreeable to their health and palates, resolved one exceedingly hot day to take a ramble to the farm of an old Chinaman, about two miles

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from Ting-hai, with the view of prevailing on him to part with some young goats they had seen on his premises in a previous excursion.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, furnished with some dollars by the caterer of their mess, and armed, Mr. Prattent with a double-barrelled fowling-piece, and young Bencraft with a thick stick, they commenced their trip. On approaching the farm house where they had formerly seen the goats, they put a heavy charge of slugs into each barrel, and providentially so, as it eventually proved.

The house stood on the slope of a steep hill, with thick bamboo groves in front and rear of it, the close nature of which precluded a direct approach to the buildings. The youngsters made their way by a narrow lane to a small enclosure at one end of the house where the goats were feeding, upon which the old farmer came out of doors and gave them a friendly welcome. An exchange of dollars for the brace of kids was proposed for his consideration, but notwithstanding the liberality of their offer, he could not be induced to part with his stock.

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Desparing of success our young friends were about to turn their steps homeward, when a sturdy fellow, with large mustachios and about five feet ten in height, approached the old man. After a conversation with whom, the workmen of the farm were called in, amounting to about twenty fellows armed with rakes and hoes.

The stranger then walked up to Mr. Prattent and offered him the goats for a less sum than had been originally refused by the old farmer. This proposal was at once accepted; and young Bencraft began to sling the kids across his back, while his companion, laying his gun in the hollow of his left arm, put his right hand into his pocket for his cash. At this moment the stranger seized the gun, while one of the labourers pinned its owner by the throat against the hedge. Instantly Bencraft dropping the kids sprung at the man who had possession of the gun, and seized it before he had time to discharge it. The Chinaman was much the strongest, but being anxious to cock the gun he had both his hands about the small

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of the piece. This was an opportunity our young hero did not let slip; for seizing the extremities of the gun, and making a desperate effort, he succeeded in wrenching it from the fellow's grasp, striking him at the same time a smart blow with the butt on the side of the head. The piece being now in his possession, it was but the work of a moment to discharge one barrel at his powerful adversary, the contents taking effect on the fellow's head who instantly fell.

The villain, with whom Prattent was struggling and whom he had blindfolded by pushing his hat over his eyes, on hearing the report of the gun, suddenly let go his hold and turned round, while the rest of the Chinese began to close in, fearing no farther harm from what they now regarded as an inoffensive weapon. At the same moment Prattent sprung forward, and snatching the gun from his companion, although he had not time to bring it to his shoulder, succeeded in lodging the contents of the loaded barrel in the stomach of the fellow with whom he had been struggling just before; upon which he dropped.

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This brought the remainder of the Chinese to a stand; for seeing the gun go off *twice* in so short a time, they probably supposed that it might do so again and again. Prattent perceiving this made no attempt to reload, which would have betrayed the real state of the case, but bringing the empty piece to his shoulder, he pointed it at every one that attempted to move. Our young mids remained in this critical situation for about ten minutes; when they were rescued by a small party of the 18th Royal Irish, who providentially had been digging sweet potatoes on the brow of the neighbouring hill, whence they were attracted to the spot by the report of the gun.

The Chinese were thus happily disappointed of their prey; while our gallant young friends walked off with their kids, and, returning on board with *their game*, modestly kept the adventure to themselves. The soldiers, however, sounded their fame abroad: so much so, that the circumstance in about a week came to the knowledge of Sir Gordon Bremer, who directed their Cap-

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tain, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, to express to them his high approbation of the gallant and cool manner in which they had behaved.

I cannot help observing that such decisive and spirited conduct in a couple of boys affords a good illustration in proof, that the rising generation in our navy has lost none of the determined courage of the olden time. We need not despair of every due support for the honour of our flag, while we feel persuaded that many similar spirits may be found among our naval and military youths. May we not with the greatest propriety adopt the words, which the author of the Æneid, has put into the mouth of one of his characters, and say—

Dii patrii, quorum semper sub nomine Troja est,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales animos juvenum et tam certa tulistis
Pectora!

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CHAPTER IV.

NING-PO AND CHUSAN.

Proceed to Ning-po—Captain Elliot applies for release of Prisoners—Their better Treatment—Chinese Cavalry—Return to "Spithead"—Yang-tse-kiang—Cruise of the Conway—Death of Mr. Harvey—Algerine at Chapoo—Bravery of Mandarin—Loss of Indian Oak—Nimrod's Cruise—Loo-choo—Manners of its Inhabitants—Seaman's Grave—Quelpert—Sickness amongst our Troops—Chusan—Ting-hai—Taoutow and Joss-house hill—Position of Troops—Robberies—Chinese Coffin—Debasing of Coin—Temples—Arsenals—Arms—The Six Boards—Burning the Archives.

Darkly of old through distant nations famed:
One eastward curving holds his crooked way,
One to the west gives his swoll'n tide to stray;
Declining southward many a land they lave,
And widely swelling roll the sea-like wave,
Till the twin offspring of the mountain sire
Both in the ——— deep engulphed expire.—*The Lusiad.*

On the 2nd of October, 1840, the Blenheim and Modeste weighed from their anchorage at "St. Helens," for the purpose of proceeding to Ning-po. On clearing Bell

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Island, these ships were joined by the Volage and Alligator, and we anchored about 3· 30′ P.M., within four miles of the entrance of the Ta-hea river; the blockade of which had been comparatively easy to our vessels, as the Chinese had sunk vessels filled with stones, and thereby blocked up the entrance of it. Chin-hai is a large-walled town at the entrance of this river, a branch of which appeared to run through it. Numerous masts of war and merchant-junks were seen over the wall,—the former easily distinguished by their banners and flags,—behind which rose a high and apparently inaccessible hill, with a joss-house and fort on its summit; the hills to the left were covered with encampments of troops. On the whole, it may be said that the scenery about Ning-po formed the prettiest landscape we had seen in China.

On the 3rd, Captain Elliot arrived in the Atalanta steamer, and had an interview with the authorities to negotiate the release of Mrs. Noble and the prisoners; but his application was evaded by their stating that their

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capture had already been reported at Pekin, and therefore they could not be released without orders from the court. They however promised that they should receive good treatment, and gave permission that their clothes should be sent to them: at the same time they allowed them to communicate with their friends by letters written in Chinese; and it was hoped a truce would soon be established with the Ning-po authorities. A body of about two hundred cavalry attended the high officers to the beach: they were the first that we had seen in China. The horses were strong, but small; the men armed with bows and arrows, with handsome appointments; upon the whole, they formed a very respectable appearance. The saddle is clumsy, and the rider, using a very short stirrup, has rather a huntsman's than a soldier's seat.

It had blown hard all night from the north-east; we had driven considerably, and the ships had all been labouring much, this anchorage being completely open to the north and north-east winds. At noon the

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squadron weighed per signal, and stood up to a small island called "Just in the Way." This island is about mid-way between Chusan and Ning-po roads, and affords a safe and sheltered anchorage, from which the signals shown on board the flag-ship could be easily made out.

Some days were passed at this spot, the weather being fine, with moderate northerly and north-easterly winds, admitting of the usual routine of the ship going on without interruption; but we were getting very tired of it, and were not at all sorry, when, on the 9th, the recall for the Modeste was seen flying on board the flag-ship. We therefore quickly proceeded to join the admiral at "Spithead." The Melville during our absence had been hove down, and was rapidly preparing for sea in the inner harbour. The Conway had also returned with her squadron from the Yang-tse-kiang, and the Nimrod had arrived from Loo-choo, where she had been to bring off the crew of the Royal Oak transport, which vessel had been wrecked there on her passage from Chusan to India. Before pro-

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ceeding with the narrative, it may be well to give a short sketch of the proceedings of those two ships.

The Yang-tse-kiang, or Child of the Ocean, is one of the most extensive rivers in the world, second only to the Mississippi and Amazon. It takes its rise in Thibet, and ere reaching the sea, passes over an extent of 2,700 miles of country in its circuitous route, relieving the Lakes Tong-ting and Poyang, of their superfluous waters. When passing Nan-kin, it runs with a continued ebb, and with such force, as to require a strong breeze to sail against it. In its downward course numerous islands are formed, which are constantly increasing from the quantity of soil suspended in its waters.

The Conway had been employed in surveying the mouths of this mighty river, and her indefatigable captain succeeded in discovering a passage by which line-of-battle ships might be conducted through the sands which guard its entrance. The Conway did not proceed above sixty miles up, and even then the ebb was found to run eight hours,

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and the flood at neap tides was scarcely perceptible. The appearance of the ship created a great sensation; and the natives were apparently busy throwing up fortifications, which, being examined with the telescope, proved nothing but mats extended on poles, with painted ports to give them the appearance of forts; these poor ignorant people not having the least idea that the real character of their mock defences could be so easily distinguished.

During the time the dispute was going on between the late Lord Napier and the Chinese authorities, our countrymen at Canton were one morning astonished at seeing the shore apparently bristling with a hundred cannon; but on examining them with the glasses, they had put up in the front of a mat-fort a range of earthen jars, with the open end pointed towards the river. We found that it was a common practice to stick a large round piece of wood into the muzzle of a three-pounder, painted white with a black spot as large as the bore of a thirty-two pounder, and as the white muzzle was

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continued along the line of guns it became very difficult by merely looking at them to discover the deception.

The Island of Tsung-ming at the entrance, lies nearly east and west, and divides the mouth of the river. It is long and low, evidently the formation of deposits from the river, its alluvial soil being very productive. It is densely populated and highly cultivated, having on it an abundance of cattle.

On the 25th of September, three boats from the Conway and Algerine were sent to this island for the purpose of purchasing fresh provisions and vegetables for the sick on board, of whom there were very many; and the whole crew were suffering much from having been several months on salt provisions. The officer in command of the boats was directed, if the natives should refuse to sell them such necessary articles, to send out foraging parties to procure them.

On landing they were divided into three detachments, each being in charge of a commissioned officer. As they advanced, the

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peasantry fled before them, carrying off their women and children; but on friendly signs being made to them they were soon induced to return to their houses. Finding no bullocks were to be obtained in the neighbourhood, Lieutenant Coryton advanced with his party in the hope of collecting some poultry. On an armed body of Chinese approaching them with evidently hostile intentions, the marines were ordered to fire, and one of the enemy was seen to drop, when his companions quickly dispersed, hiding themselves in the deep dykes with which this island is intersected.

Lieutenant Coryton's party meeting no further opposition, collected a considerable quantity of stock, with which they returned to the boats, when, having deposited them, a native informed them by signs that some buffaloes might be procured at a clump of large trees in the distance; in which direction, accompanied by their apparently kind friend, the party proceeded. Having advanced a short way their guide suddenly stopped, pointing to a large junk shored up on her side, with her keel turned towards them, and indi-

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cated by signs that soldiers were behind it, after which he made his escape.

They had selected a remarkably strong position for their novel field-work, having placed it in a paddy-field with a broad ditch, knee deep in mud between them and Lieutenant Coryton's party, a long narrow pass leading to their front without furnishing a particle of cover to an attacking force; while a second junk flanked the causeway. Nothing daunted, the gallant little band advanced to the nullah, or ditch, and opened a heavy fire of musketry on the junk, hoping by that means to dislodge the party behind it; but it proving to be bullet-proof, the assailants received a smart fire in return from those entrenched. Lieutenant Coryton gave the order to charge, when at that instant Mr. Harvey fell, exclaiming that he was wounded in the stomach. This caused a slight delay while that gentleman was being sent to the rear.

A Chinaman now advanced to the front of the junk, and covering the marine officer with his matchlock attempted to fire, which this officer no sooner perceived than he prepared

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to return the compliment; but, strange as it may seem, after two or three attempts, neither of the pieces would go off; when the order to charge being repeated, the party dashed through the nullah, and quickly carried the position, the flying enemy leaving two of their party dead upon the field. The parties were now united, but the Chinese shewed no inclination to renew the fight. The Conway had one man killed and Mr. Harvey mortally wounded, who expired on board his ship on Sunday, the 27th of September, much regretted by all his shipmates, by whom he was highly and deservedly esteemed.

The Algerine, a few days afterwards, while examining the deep bay of Hang-tchou, stood into the harbour of Chapoo, the emporium of the Japanese trade, from the batteries of which a fire was immediately opened on the little brig. Lieutenant Mason gallantly placed his vessel alongside of them, and after a cannonade of three hours, effectually silenced them, remaining at his anchorage for an hour to see if they were

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inclined to renew the engagement, which the Chinese not doing, he got under weigh, and rejoined his squadron.

During the whole of the engagement the mandarin in charge of the forts paraded the walls, making gestures of defiance at the brig, and encouraging his men, while the shot were falling round him in every direction. This was one of the individual cases of courage sometimes met with amongst the Chinese.

Her Majesty's ship Nimrod, Commander Barlow, which ship had arrived at Chusan from England shortly after the admiral had sailed from that harbour for the Imperial Sea, was dispatched on the 5th of September, in company with her majesty's brig Cruizer, to the Loo-choo Islands, in consequence of a mate of the Indian Oak transport having arrived in that ship's long boat, and announced her wreck on those islands. He reported that they had been most humanely treated by those kind-hearted islanders, who met them on the shore, carried them to a house, and saved every particle of the wreck

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which came on shore, not appropriating so much as a nail to their own use without permission. Here is a lesson for some of our own countrymen, who may learn from these poor unenlightened islanders the duties of good Samaritans.

On the 15th of September, the ships made the Islands of Turina and Auckrina, the former of which has a most remarkable appearance, much like the Giant's Causeway, on the coast of Ireland. Light winds with a strong current against them, compelled the ships to anchor; nor were they enabled to get into "Barnpool," off the town of Napakiang, until the following day, of which Lieutenant Kendall, to whom I am indebted for these remarks, observes, that though the scenery in "Barnpool" was more beautiful, and the land more highly cultivated, than he had observed in any part of China, it certainly did not equal in appearance its namesake near Plymouth.

Shortly after the vessels were anchored they were visited by numerous natives, who brought off water and provisions in great

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abundance, for which they refused to receive the slightest remuneration. "It was," observes Lieutenant Kendall, "the only place I ever visited, where such a custom prevailed."

The crew of the late Royal Oak were most kindly treated, and amply provided with every necessary by these warm-hearted people. The natives had nearly completed a junk of about 150 tons burden, which they were purposely building out of the remains of the ship, that they might return as much as they possibly could of the Indian Oak to Queen Victoria. It being found that the junk would carry all the party, the Cruizer was sent back with the intelligence to Chusan.

Notwithstanding all their kindness, there was a degree of innate jealousy about them that could not be overcome. The house in which the castaways had been lodged was inclosed by a fence, outside of which they were not allowed to move; nor would they permit Captain Barlow or any of his officers to advance a step off the beach.

On one occasion, after the officers had

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been bathing, they were shown the tomb of one of the late seamen of the Alceste, who had died during the visit of that ship to these islands, at the time she conveyed Lord Amherst to China.

The tomb was situated in a very picturesque grove of fir trees, near a temple surrounded by mausolea of the natives. These kind beings preserved the spot perfectly free from weeds, and had planted flowers around the grave, keeping it in the highest order; but nothing could prevail upon them to allow any of the party to go beyond this spot: to prevent which unarmed parties of ten and twelve were stationed in different places; so that if the young gentlemen succeeded in evading one party of watchers, their anticipations of a ramble were quickly stopped, by stumbling on another. On such occasions, the natives, in the most quiet and gentle manner, would take them by the arms, and lead them back, laughing all the time at the attempt made to elude them.

The men are low in stature, but well formed and handsome, their colour being a

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dark copper, with teeth remarkable for their regularity and great whiteness, and having a very tranquil black eye, which gave to the whole countenance a peculiarly placid and intelligent expression. Their dress resembled that of the Chinese, with the usual accompaniment of fan and pipe; but instead of the monkey-like tail, the hair is gathered up, and formed into a handsome knot at the crown of the head, and secured by two long kinds of bodkins, one of which was usually ornamented at the top with the imitation of a flower. The chiefs were distinguished by these bodkins being of silver, while the lower orders had them of brass.

No women were seen, and all inquiries about them were answered by assurances that they were all very ugly,—an assertion which the beauty of the men certainly disproved. They added it was not the custom for them to be seen by strangers, at whom they would be much frightened, but they always endeavoured to turn the subject off. Not a warlike weapon of any description was seen during the Nimrod's stay. Harmony and

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good-will prevailed throughout this peaceful spot, where punishment was unknown; a grave look or a tap of the fan sufficing for everything. It is wonderful that they have not yet been contaminated.

During the Nimrod's stay she was supplied with every thing that she required; all payment being refused. Captain Barlow presented them therefore, in the name of her majesty, with a telescope and some books, amongst which were Bibles and Testaments.

The junk being completed, and all the stores which had been saved from the wreck embarked, the Nimrod, accompanied by the Folly, which name the junk now bore, sailed on the 27th, on her return for Chusan, much to the delight of these happy hospitable islanders; but the Nimrod, owing to the bad sailing qualities of her consort, had a much longer passage than she expected. For a full account of these kind-hearted people, I would recommend my readers to Captain Basil Hall's very interesting and entertaining narrative of them.

Before quitting the Nimrod's cruise, I will

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give a short account, though I thereby somewhat forestall my narrative, of a subsequent trip which that ship made to the island of Quelpert, for the purpose of procuring bullocks for the troops. She left Chusan on this duty, accompanied by the Houghly transport, on the 16th of October; and, after rather a boisterous passage, arrived on the 29th, and anchored between Cattle and Modeste Island, the former of which was covered with herds, though no inhabitants could be distinguished. At daylight the next morning, the boats were dispatched for the purpose of catching cattle, being well provided with ropes for that purpose, and being attended by an armed party in case of any attack.

Lieutenant Kendall thus describes the method used for taking the cattle:—"A party, fifty strong, was formed in one line about ten feet apart; and ropes, consisting of stud-sail haulyards, extended from right to left, which the men held as high as their breasts, keeping it taught. This line reached nearly across the island, by which means the herd were driven down to a

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point of land, where they faced their pursuers, bellowing and tearing up the ground with their feet. At length, headed by a tremendous black bull, they charged the centre of the line. The extremities of the rope being kept taught, the foremost ones fell over it, when a rush was made on them, and before they could recover their legs, they were firmly tied with spun yarn. In this manner from five to six were caught at a *haul*, when having a rope secured round the horns, and another to one of their hind legs, the lashings were cast off, and they were worked down to the boat. It was a most amusing employment; and many a tumble and capsize occurred during the day; fortunately no accident happened. We tried hard to get our friend the chief, but he always escaped. He charged once the place where poor Fox* was standing, who broke the butt of a musket over his nose, at which he shook his head, but continued his career.

* Lieutenant C. Fox was Senior Lieutenant of the Nimrod. He afterwards fell on the heights behind Canton, in May, 1841.

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Two or three were knocked down by the men of the 18th, who, when these animals charged right on them, dexterously hit them between the eyes with stones."

On the opposite shore and main land of Quelpert the natives were assembling in great force, numerous tents being pitched. Among them was one, the gorgeous colours of which pointed it out as belonging to some high chieftain; and with the glasses it was observed that no one was allowed to stop or pass before it, without taking off his hat or cap, and bowing.

These natives kept making signs to the Nimrod's people to land, accompanied by threatening gesticulations, beating of gongs, and blowing of horns, which lasted until about eight o'clock, when they all lay down gazing on the ships, relieving the *tædium vitæ* by an occasional shout or blast on their horns.

Captain Barlow, accompanied by the interpreter, proceeded with the gig and jolly-boat, having a flag of truce flying, to communicate with the people on shore; on approaching which a boat pulled out and made signs for

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them to land. On this the boats were pulled close to and alongside the native chief, who then got into the gig; but on wanting him to go on board the Nimrod, he made signs that he would get his head cut off, and therefore begged to decline the honour intended him. Several "chops" passed between this chief and the interpreter* on the object of the visit. The old chief then landed, and left the crowd, which was assembled on the beach, who soon began to show and handle their arms; in consequence of which the boats were shoved a little way off from the shore.

After some slight delay another attempt was made to make them understand what was

* Though the dialect of all the eastern islands and the Corea differs from the Chinese, as it even often does on the Chinese coast, still the character in writing is the same. So that a communication can always be carried on if both parties write. With their fans they will often describe the character in the air. Mr. Ellis relates, in his account of Lord Amherst's embassy, that when some mandarins were entertained at his lordship's table, one of them, in the heat of conversation, dipped his finger in his neighbour's wine-glass, and drew the desired character on the table.

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wanted. On which a man, apparently a chief, made a dash at the flag of truce, which he would have succeeded in carrying off had not the bowman hooked him with the boat-hook, which caused him to let it go. All hope of an amicable communication being at an end, the boats returned to their ships.

During the two days they remained at this anchorage, fifty-seven bullocks were captured and embarked on board the transport. The natives, with numerous boats, and "armed to the teeth," made several demonstrations of intending to attack the party employed on shore; but having to cross the fire of the corvette, on their passage to the island, a shot or two from her quickly deterred them from their object.

Many tanks were observed on the island, hewed out of the rock; and as no springs could be found, it was surmised that these were supplied from the main land. The natives stated, that the bullocks were the private property of the king, and for that reason they could receive no payment for them. Their dresses appeared to be of the

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same shape as the Chinese, but their hair was worn in a fashion similar to that of the Loochooans, whose gentle manners they certainly did not in any way inherit.

It coming on to blow very hard, the ships were prepared for sea; but from delays on board the transport, they were not enabled to quit their anchorage until the next day, when the Houghly had to slip her cable, and thus the ships succeeded in getting out from their very insecure situation.

During the absence of the Modeste from Chusan, great sickness had prevailed amongst the troops. Between three and four hundred had been interred, and about one thousand five hundred were in the hospitals. The gallant Cameronians were reduced to a perfect skeleton, and the brave 47th were scarcely in a better condition.

No doubt this was mainly to be attributed to the want of fresh and wholesome provisions, predisposing the constitution of the men to the agues and fevers epidemical in this place; for we find the sickness comparatively mild amongst the officers, who had

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means of living on a more generous diet. The season was also said by the natives to be a peculiarly unhealthy one, and much sickness prevailed amongst the Chinese. The troops encamped on the hills or high grounds suffered the most. It appeared that the miasma ascended from the lower ground and lodged on these hills, while the air in the valley was clear and light. The Madras artillery, who were encamped in the centre of a paddy-field, lost very few men. Some few foraging parties were sent out, but from the want of proper interpreters, they must have been considered more in the light of plunderers, than accredited agents of the authorities.

Much of the inactivity which existed at Chusan must be attributed to the sickness that prevailed amongst the troops; for there could be no other reason why strong bodies of troops were not advanced into the interior of the island, by which means most ample supplies might have been obtained, and the very excitement of motion would have gone far to have checked the sickness, and at once

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have removed the healthy from contemplating the graves and bodies of their dead and dying comrades.

The seasonable supply of cattle which was brought by the Pei-Ho squadron was most joyfully hailed, and the admiral became actively employed in putting things on a better footing. Foraging parties from both services were now daily sent out, and obtained from four to six bullocks per day: in one valley in particular they were always certain of finding some, the admiral having directed that the price asked for them should be paid, thereby to encourage the natives to *put their cattle in our way*: which was actually the case; for they feared to sell them to us, least they should be informed against and punished by the mandarins as soon as the British force should quit the island. Therefore when foraging parties were seen approaching, they always made a *fruitless* attempt to drive their bullocks away; but some how or other they never succeeded, leaving the valley with dollars instead of beasts, from fifteen to twenty being the price

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paid for each bullock, double their value, but cheap to us.

The Island of Chusan* or Chowsan, on which the British had a factory in 1700, is a miniature likeness of a vast chain of mountains, small streams flowing from its central heights passing between the hills, which separate as they approach the sea, forming wide and extensive valleys where boundary walls and embankments form large alluvial plains. That in which the city of Ting-hai is situated has an embankment facing the sea of full two miles in extent. This extensive plain continues from three to four miles into the gorge of the hills, and is principally

* Chusan is fifty-one miles and a half in circumference, twenty-one long, and ten and a half broad, and forms part of the Ting-hai-Heën. Heën is the smallest division of a province, in which the presiding officer has the power of government. In this Heën the whole of the Chusan group north and south are included, the Kewshan islands being also attached to it. The population of Chusan may be estimated at about 280,000, as, from reports in the public offices, it appears to have 40,000 houses on it, which, at seven inhabitants per house, gives the above number; and, as far as I could judge, the inmates average about that number.

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under rice cultivation, though cotton, maize, beans, bringalls, and many vegetables are grown in small patches. Every spot on the slope of the hills capable of cultivation is covered with yams and sweet potatoes, while the more barren parts are used as the last resting-place of the inhabitants,—a custom that I believe prevails generally through China. In the upper part of this valley many kind of trees flourish, adding much to the beauty of the scene.

Through this valley a large stream runs from the eastward, and ultimately passes into the sea; about one mile before it does so, there is a sluice, by closing which a large quantity of water is directed into the various canals that intersect this valley, forming an easy means of irrigation and communication.

The spot where the sluice is situated has become of considerable importance, it being the point nearest to the city, which heavy laden boats can approach at high water; several shops and buildings are situated in this neighbourhood, and a good stone bridge crosses the stream. Many other bridges

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may be seen in this valley, some of which are single slabs of granite, from ten to twelve feet in length and four in breadth, having a support under the centre of the slab. The whole space of these flat lands is generally covered with water, or in such a damp muddy state, as to render it out of the question to attempt to cross the fields; so that the passenger must confine himself to the narrow causeways by which they are divided, and these seldom exceed three or four feet in breadth, the centres of which are flagged with granite, affording a dry and comfortable foot-path, though, from the Indian file in which you are obliged to advance, conversation is effectually stopped.

The city of Ting-hai is situated in this fertile valley of Yung-tung, which has just been described, and is about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. It is of an irregular pentagonal form, environed by a stone wall about three miles in extent. This wall is twenty-two feet in height and fifteen in thickness; four feet of the above height forming the parapet, which is two feet

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through. Twenty-two square towers, placed at irregular distances, defend the walls. Four gates, answering to the cardinal points of the compass, give admission to the city. Each gate is flanked by two towers, and supported by an outer gate, defences at right angles protecting the inner one.

Round four sides of this pentagonal, and about thirty feet from the walls, there is a canal thirty-three feet broad. The fifth side is formed by a steep hill, up which the wall extends, a large bastion being formed on the top of it. The wall continues along the ridge of this hill, the outer sides of which are precipitous, when it again descends and unites to the western end of the southern face.

From the canal a branch passes into the city through a water-gate, and intersects it in every direction; thus affording an easy means of conveyance and communication to the citizens, but forming at the same time in many places large squares of stagnant water, which, in the hot weather, become very

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offensive, and add to the many other causes of malaria existing in this filthy city.

The streets are narrow, ill-constructed, and dirty, having sewers running down the centre of them, which discharge themselves into the canals. These sewers are covered over with large slabs of stone, and for want of cleaning, had become extremely unpleasant. Latterly coolies were pressed, and being formed into gangs, attended by policemen, were obliged to clean them out, for which labour however they were paid. Every other vacant space or corner in the streets was occupied by immense earthenware jars, being receptacles for every kind of filth; animal and vegetable matter of every description being deposited within them for the purpose of manuring the fields within the walls, a considerable extent of ground on the eastern side of the inhabited part being devoted to the cultivation of rice.

The houses were for the most part built of wood, which was beautifully varnished; but the temples and principal buildings were con-

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structed of brick or stone plastered over with a kind of gypsum, being mostly surrounded with a plain wall. On my first ramble through this city the scene appeared most desolate: the inhabitants had nearly all forsaken their houses, the doors of which, in hundreds of cases, were standing open. On entering these dwellings little met the view except beautiful specimens of carved work in wood, with which this city abounded; but cleanliness had not been attended to; and these desolate and dirty houses with the deserted street reminded one of a plague-struck city.

From the southern gate a straight road led down to Taoutow, the seaport or suburb of the city; numerous lanes, leading down to the wharfs and jetties, intersect this road, which, passing on the western side of the joss-house hill, terminates in a large square platform well flagged, on which the troops first landed. The joss-house hill is about 200 feet in height, and about eight hundred yards from the city, which it completely commands. On its southern side is a large temple or joss-house, which is

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approached from the square beneath by a handsome flight of stone steps. Had this spot been properly fortified and well defended it would have cost us many valuable lives to have taken it. The greater part of the suburb was composed of shops and stores. Several very extensive shamsoo distilleries were also found here, which spirit appears to be a staple of this island. Along the shore were large and well supplied timber yards, the principal part of which is brought from the main, these islands affording only an indifferent kind of fir.

After the occupation of Ting-hai, the 26th Cameronians were encamped on the hill within the city walls. The 18th Royal Irish occupied the suburbs and joss-house hill, the 49th remaining on board the ships; but shortly afterwards they were disembarked, and encamped near the sappers, who were on a point to the westward of the city, which commanded Junk Pass. The Bengal volunteers occupied high land at a little distance outside the north wall, while the Madras artillery, with their guns, were encamped

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in the paddy fields, surrounded by an arm of the canal.

When the troops first entered Ting-hai scarcely a soul was to be seen. Thousands had left the city, but many families remained shut up in their houses. When they found that the troops were peaceable and quiet, they gradually showed themselves, and the rabble speedily commenced a system of plunder; and goods from the deserted houses were carried out of the city night and day. The commandant was requested to prevent this by giving directions that nothing should be allowed to pass the gate. Orders to this effect were at first refused, on the plea that the inhabitants ought to come and look after their own affairs; and thus these disregarders of *meum* and *tuum* were allowed to carry on a most prosperous game of spoliation, every thing rapidly disappearing before their light fingers. No shops were open, and had this continued the city would soon have been empty; orders were therefore at length given to stop the robbers at the gates, and not to allow them to climb over the walls.

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The remedy now became worse than the disease: honest men were stopped with the thieves; for who was to distinguish between them. Goods out of number accumulated at the guard-house, and the magistrate's office was besieged by claimants to recover their property, who, on getting an order for it, helped themselves most liberally, taking very good care to make up for all previous losses; and rarely, if ever, did the true owner become possessed of what was justly his. Coffins, notwithstanding the order, were allowed to pass, until the notice of the sentries was attracted by the quantities of dead relations, whose bodies were carried out of the town, when their curiosity prompted them to examine one of these pretended repositories of the dead, which proved to be full of rolls of silk, crape, and other valuables.

The Chinese do not put their departed friends into large holes in the earth, but place the coffin on it; when it is either covered with matting, earth, or a tomb is erected over it, many of which were seen much resembling the common tombs in Eng-

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land; but these generally appeared to be of great age. The coffin is formed of wood, about four inches in thickness; the upper and lower edges of the sides are deeply curved, the ends being fitted in on the same plan, which gives to this last resting-place a handsome and substantial appearance.

The coffin-artifice failing, other methods were resorted to by the ever prolific minds of the Chinese. Several met their death from the sentries, while trying to force their way by them. One aged rogue, overladen with plunder, sunk in the canal; many received the penalty of their crimes from the people whom they were attempting to rob. One fellow, in particular, was found tied to a post in the market-place so tightly bound, that the blood oozed out from his hands and arms, and his eyes were starting from their sockets. Another was brought to the magistrate's office, who had been thus treated by his captor,—a literary graduate, and it was two hours before he recovered the use of his speech. This learned character seemed much astonished, and could not at all understand

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why he should be accused of cruelty, having, as he stated, merely executed an act of justice.

A musician having been detained on a charge of stealing musical instruments, with which he was laden, pleaded his cause so well, that he was permitted to depart. "When," said he, addressing the magistrate, "I listen to the music of your troops, the sound of my own instruments appeared to be harsh and grating in my ears. I lose all pleasure in them. How could I then presume to enter any longer into competition with its strains? Besides, to me, it appears you have quite music enough; and as the voice of mirth will be heard no more in this city, of what use is my abode amidst the afflicted? I can carry on my profession only amongst joyous parties."

Had nothing been allowed to have been removed out of the town, from the moment it was occupied by our troops, all the preceding and after suffering would in a great degree have been prevented. There were some who were *foolish enough to think*, that

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if the goods were retained the inhabitants would have remained with them, and those who had left the city would have returned. Can any one, having a knowledge of the Chinese love for property, doubt that such would have been the result?

A short time after the occupation, shops were opened, and poultry of the finest description were plentiful. Emissaries from the Ning-po authorities being in the town and observing this, threatened the remaining inhabitants with death, if they supplied the English. This ought to have been stopped, and every means taken to have discovered and punished these vile servants of the mandarins.

The seizure of the compradore, before spoken of, was a most severe blow, and caused, I may say, the whole of the after-sufferings to the troops. For as the inhabitants perceived that the English would not, or could not, force the Ning-po authorities to give him up, they lost all confidence, and forsook our neigbourhood, crowding into the interior of the island, or to Ning-po; and

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when opportunities offered of inquiring why they did so, the answer was, "there is no security for life or property. We may be seized by the agents of our government, and lose our lives for traitorous intercourse." Thus we had only ourselves to thank for the sufferings the troops endured. A powerful demonstration or attack on Ning-po would, no doubt, have caused the release of the compradore, and made the authorities very cautious how they interfered with us at Chusan.

About this time a native employed by the British was decoyed out of the gate, and was immediately seized and carried off to Ning-po. This put the finishing stroke to our intercourse; the few remaining inhabitants fled the city; even the robbers were infected with the panic, and a Chinese was rarely to be seen in the street. It became impossible to obtain fresh provisions: no cocks or hens were to be seen in the neighbourhood of the city, and should one bird be heard to crow, he seldom crowed again.

The camp followers were all day fishing in the canals, surrounded by servants ready to

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purchase the first bite; even the poor supply of vegetables had ceased.

The troops had behaved in the most exemplary way; but who can wonder if, under the temptation excited by hunger, irregularities were committed? or if an occasional peasant more venturous than his countrymen, when making for the town with poultry, was eased of it before he arrived at his journey's end? In this state things remained for some time, and when protective papers for houses and property were notified, only a few appeared to avail themselves of the offers held out to them.

It being advisable to move the 26th and 49th regiments into winter quarters, many houses in the city were appropriated to that purpose, the owners of which, in numerous cases, not appearing to claim their property, they were necessarily broken open and the contents sent to the temple of Confucius, where sales were occasionally held.

One great difficulty felt in our first intercourse with this island, was the little knowledge the natives had of silver. The tchen

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being their circulating medium, thousands of strings of which were carried off by the robbers before the soldiers became aware of their value. The inhabitants would at first not take silver, except the Carolus pillared dollar; and it was very long before they could be induced to receive the Mexican on any terms. I have, when paying for bullocks, seen them examine the dollars most minutely, only selecting those on which that king's effigy was represented with a small piece of armour on the shoulder.

When they became more familiar with our silver coin, I saw a man refuse to take a sovereign, preferring an English shilling: in fact, nothing like a gold coinage has existed in China for ages. So addicted are the Chinese to debasing the currency that even the tchen, which is of less value than a tenth of a penny, is counterfeited. They will take a dollar, cut off the stamp about the thickness of tinsel, and scrape out the inside until a mere shell of the same thickness is left; they then fill it up with copper, and neatly braze the stamp on. The most critical

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examination of an unpractised eye will not easily discover the cheat. All the English houses employ shroffs, native Chinese, who readily detect a bad dollar; and as they are answerable for any that may be such after undergoing their examination, the English merchants are seldom sufferers by base coin.

The temples or joss-houses of Ting-hai are amongst the finest in China. On entering the large and deep gateway of the great temple a colossal figure is seen seated on each side; the right-hand one being the warrior Chin-ky, while the one on the left is Chin-loong, but a high railing prevents the curious from touching them. After examining these seated giants, you pass to a large open quadrangle, one side of which is appropriated to the dormitories of the priests, and the other consists of a long narrow apartment with altars before three of their gods, who occupy arm-chairs, having elegant lanterns suspended before them.

The first is an aged figure, with a long black beard, apparently sleeping; the coun-

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tenance expressing the most perfect repose*. The second is a female, the goddess Teën-how, the queen of heaven. The third is a male figure with eight arms, newly gilt, and apparently lately established in his domicile: he is no doubt of Indian origin. The fourth side of the quadrangle is occupied by the temple.

No sooner do you step clear of the screen which is before the door, than you are struck by the magnificence of the carving, and the colossal Budha, seated on the lotus flower†. This figure, in its sitting position, is at least

* This figure came into the possession of an officer of the squadron, and when the ships were at Canton, the compradore attending the ship it was on board, expressed a great wish to become possessed of it. On his desire being gratified, he presented to the officer three sets of josses, with incense burners, &c. He assigned his reason for being anxious to become the possessor of the sleepy joss already described, in these words: "My catchee he—my get plenty pigeon." We afterwards learnt, in confirmation of the compradore's intelligence, that this figure was the Chinese Morpheus, and also brought good fortune to his owner.

† From the lotus the bodies of the saints are to be re-produced. With the Budhist it is the type of a creative power.

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fifteen feet in height. On its right and left are seated two other figures, the whole representing the triad, or three precious Budhas. These three figures are gilt. Some idea of their gigantic proportions may be formed from the forefinger of the left hand figure measuring eight inches in length. Behind these figures are mirrors made of the famous pe-tung, or white copper*, which when polished is not easily distinguished from silver. Many of these mirrors are from three to four feet in diameter.

Passing round a large square building behind the Budhas, you find a row of thirty of his disciples as large as life, of different ages and sexes, all in a standing posture, but in different attitudes. These figures are also richly gilt; the play of the human passions is exquisitely depicted in their countenances; and though they are too corpulent and fat for our ideas of proportion, they are true to the Chinese standard of beauty. On the whole they are good specimens of the fine arts in China; and were they

* Pe-tung is only found in the province of Yun-nan.

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formed of any other material than clay, which would admit of removal, they might have made a handsome addition to our national museum.

One figure is very remarkable: it is that of a woman with a child apparently issuing from the centre of her breast; she has a glory round her head. Another is that of a man with an eye in the front of the forehead*. Before these figures, and behind the Budha, is an altar covered with small but well-executed figures of Chinese; at the back of which is a lofty grotto constructed of pieces of rock. On the projections of this are numerous groups of figures, amidst which are many that appear very much like cherubim, as represented by our village sculptors.

I am inclined to think from this, and the glory round the female's head, that the figures

* In a ramble through the city I came to a joss-house in which was a figure much like the Egyptian god Meaotis. It was the figure of a man, of a red or chocolate colour, with a hawk's head, but clothed in the usual Chinese dress, with the black boots worn by the mandarins. I could gain no information from the priest relative to it.

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of the virgin and angels, formerly taken to China by the Jesuit missionaries, have led to a mixture of the Christian with the Chinese worship. I was at a future period much shocked at Macao by seeing the cross with our blessed Saviour on it, and several other representations of the Virgin Mary and of Roman catholic saints, for sale, and mixed up with josses in the Chinese shops. After this what rational hope can be entertained of converting these people from being worshippers of idols, who would naturally turn round and say, "Why these are your own gods?"

To return to the temple, we observed a most magnificent bell, richly ornamented with Chinese characters; and our attention was also attracted by one of the largest drums I ever beheld, deep in its tones, and, unlike our "sheep-skin fiddles," each head was covered with the hide of a bullock*.

Numerous out-buildings appeared to be

* These are beaten to arouse the votaries of the god; and the great bell is struck morning and evening for the same purpose.

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appropriated to the priests, but only a solitary aged being remained to defend his shrine from the rude attacks of the "barbarians." This temple, I believe, escaped with comparatively little injury; but never before had there been such a destruction of Chinese gods as took place in this city. The wanton *iconoclasts* satisfied their consciences by reflecting that they were only destroying graven images.

Another temple, in which the commissariat department were quartered, possessed also some beautiful specimens of sculpture. Kwan-yin, the goddess of mercy, riding on a dolphin, in a troubled sea, distributing her acts of grace, and exhibiting her power to save, would have been looked upon as a splendid piece of art, had it been discovered in Greece instead of in a small Chinese island.

The white elephant in this temple created much speculation amongst our orientalists, it having ever been considered as peculiar to the Burmese and Siamese worship; but when it is remembered how great an intercourse, by war and commerce, has for ages

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existed between the Chinese and Burmese, I can see nothing extraordinary in some of the natives having introduced a Burmese idol, as well as Budha from Ceylon.

Before the principal image of this temple stands a large, massive, and elaborately carved table, on which are jars filled with a fine blue earth for fixing the joss-sticks* into, when burning. Accompanying these are round vases filled with fortune-telling sticks, which are flat pieces of bamboo, painted with vermillion, and having Chinese numbers and characters on them. If a Chinaman is about to set out on a journey, to make a purchase, or perform any other transaction of life, he comes and takes out one of these sticks; when by the characters on it he is referred to a leaf of some of the small books which hang up in the temple, and by what he there reads he decides on giving up or persevering in his intended act.

* The joss-stick, from the nature of its composition, is truly a *coprolite*, if the geologists can afford me the term: it moulders away like a pastille. They are always burning in their temples, and are constantly used by the natives when "chin-chinning" Joss.

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The temple of Confucius is situated in a most romantic spot, embowered in trees, but time has done its work. Many parts are fast falling to decay. By the English it was used as a receptacle for all captured property. The Chinese made several attempts, by breaking through the walls, to purloin the contents. The dry masonry of the wall is beautiful; it is a sort of mosaic work,—every stone fitting with the greatest niceness, so that you could not introduce the point of the finest knife into the interstices. In addition to these there may be seen many smaller temples; and every dwelling of any importance has a joss-house or temple of ancestors attached to it.

Ting-hai possesses a foundling hospital and one for decrepid and aged persons; and three arsenals containing cannon-balls, bows and arrows, flags, and clothing for the troops. Great regularity and neatness prevailed in each of these departments; the different description of shot being in separate compartments, while the dresses were neatly labelled and packed into presses. These were the

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large loose jackets thickly padded with cotton, the inside of the breast being closely inlaid with thin scales of iron, rendering that part of the dress perfectly ball-proof. As the cold weather came on these formed excellent warm dresses for the lascars, though their appearance was rather grotesque in the clothing of the "robust and brave*." Their rockets, which were neatly arranged, were the most childish weapon that can be imagined; in size about equal to a two-ounce rocket, with a small iron barb at the end. They generally discharge them in showers of thousands at a time, which were admired for their beauty, but never dreaded by us from any injury they were likely to do. The guns were of the most miserable description, but curious from their extraordinary shape and antiquity; several were mere bars of iron hooped together. Many of the arms were sold, others destroyed, and some sent home as trophies to England. It was calculated

* The front and back of most of these dresses were ornamented with a round red spot, on which the Chinese characters, "robust and brave," were worked.

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that there were equipments for 1300 men,—the amount of the Chusan local force. Some few helmets were found in the arsenal: they were of polished steel, but are only used by their horse soldiers.

Several very extensive and well-arranged public granaries well filled with paddy were discovered, and as rice became scarce, they were opened for the purpose of selling it at moderate price; but the natives appeared to be afraid to become purchasers; and the ducks and fowls were alone benefited by the contents of these store-houses, which were still well supplied when the force evacuated the island.

A very extensive pawnbroker's shop was also found filled with every imaginable article, from the dresses and ornaments of the "red gallery" to those of the "green window," with white copper mirrors and an innumerable collection of gongs. The owner of this establishment not appearing after repeated proclamations, the property which had been previously removed to the temple of Confucius, was sold, and the building

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converted into an hospital. I have no doubt that one of the high officers late of Ting-hai owned this establishment. Keshen was said to own several of them, from which he derived great wealth.

This being the capital of the Heën, the Luh Poo, or six boards were in existence there, each having its own peculiar office filled with old and mouldy archives which had been treasured for so long a period, that it became an arduous job to examine them. I was tempted to see if I could rummage any thing curious from amongst them, but the smell was so unpleasant, as to make me speedily desist. For a length of time they rested in peace, until it was discovered that the Ning-po authorities had employed emissaries to steal them, when their fate was decided, and all these ancient documents were committed to the flames, thereby causing much labour to the police, who might as easily have burnt as much asbestos as these ancient records.

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CHAPTER V.

CHUSAN.

Good effects of discipline—Lingua Franca—Resources of Chusan—Its Vegetable productions—Paddy—Manure—Anecdote—Cotton—Bricks—Roads—Death of Lieut. Conway—His Funeral—Watering—Melville Repaired—Present from Elepoo—The Fever—Truce—Innumerable Duck's Eggs—Little Feet—Pain well Borne—Women's Hair—Marriage—Artificial Flowers—Charms of an Anchor Button—Admiral sails for Canton—Starboard Jack—Elepoo's Change of Policy—Chinese Liners—Cast large Guns—Houses used as Fire-Wood—Elepoo's Threat to burn the City—Keshen's Treachery—Lew appointed Commander-in-Chief—His Expedition postponed *sine die*—Beneficial effects of Cold Weather—Orders to Evacuate Chusan—The Evacuation—Climate and Range of Thermometer—Squadron sail from Starboard Jack—Fishing-boats—Arrival at Toong-koo.

Her feet beneath her petticoat,
Like little mice, stole in and out,
As if they fear'd the light.—SUCKLING.

THE burning of the archives, alluded to in the previous Chapter, excited great indigna-

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tion in the minds of the Chinese. This, however gradually subsided, when they saw the good order and discipline which prevailed among the British troops; for they well knew that under similar circumstances, their own countrymen would have pillaged and murdered in every direction. At a time, when it was reported at Chusan, that the Ning-po authorities had a plan of attacking Ting-hai, the well-disposed Chinese were warned not to harbour any of the mandarins or troops. They replied, they knew their own interest better; they would just as soon house the same number of well-known thieves and robbers.

After the troops had all taken up cantonments in the city, the Chinese, as they returned, opened shops in the midst of their quarters; and finding that the soldiers had plenty of money, used every inducement to get their custom. The "tolah" and "loopee" becoming most familiar terms, a *lingua franca* rapidly sprung up, composed of words and sounds from the European, Asiatic, and Chinese languages. Nor was it confined to

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these in particular, for the imitation of the lowing of cattle, and cackling of poultry were introduced: the repetition of the words "cackle, cackle," being the first method of making known the want of cocks and hens, they were henceforth called "kak;" while ducks were "wak," and geese were "his-wak;" the oxen and cows being yclept "boo," which had originated from our first foraging parties indicating that they were in want of those animals by putting their arms over their foreheads, and exclaiming, "boo! boo! boo!" Dogs of course were naturally "bow-wows;" and thus quickly all the articles in common use got named. But I must not anticipate.

The island of Chusan has great resources within itself, and would, with a good government, and proper duties levied on its trade, speedily more than pay all its expenses. Placed as it is off the centre of the Chinese coast, it becomes the key to their northern and southern trade, and from its approximation to the Yang-tse-kiang and Hoang-ho

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(yellow) rivers. It is a most admirable position for the establishment of a force for keeping the Chinese to the terms of any treaty that may ultimately be made with them; for good faith alone will never effect it. It would also, from its central position, form an emporium for trade, that would before long rival any other in Asia. The difficulties of the passage to it would be soon overcome. Many of my readers may remember when the voyage to Macao was, at certain seasons of the year, considered almost impracticable.

I have before shown, that the sickness prevailing amongst our forces was not so much owing to the climate as to other causes, all of which might be removed. The malaria, so much complained of in the neighbourhood of Ting-hai, would cease, by draining the valley in which the city is situated,—an object easily to be effected, the whole of the land lying above high-water mark, where the cultivation of corn might be substituted instead of paddy, of which this island at

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present produces a great surplus; and this, with shamsoo* and salt-fish, constitute at present the principal exports.

Timber is scarce; but the tallow tree is found in great abundance. Several manufactories of candles were observed in the city and suburbs. These candles are of various colours, and have a thin outer coating of wax. The wick is large and coarse, being generally of rush; nor do the candles give a very powerful light.

This island produces wheat, buck-wheat, rice in great abundance, millet, Indian corn, barley, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes in large quantities, spinach, beans, bringals, onions, carrots, yams, lettuce, turnips, ginger, very fine rhubarb, tobacco, peas, peaches, plums, oranges, limes, loquats, the arbutus, and a

* Such vast quantities of this spirit were found in the city, that after the owners of it were discovered, and they were directed to remove it under penalty of forfeiture, hundreds of coolies were employed for many days in doing so. To prevent the troops from being tempted to make free with it, the contents of the store-houses were kept profoundly secret. It is a spirit most detrimental to the European constitution.

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kind of cherry, with a coarse kind of tea, good indigo and cotton. There was, in addition to the above, a vegetable growing on this island I have not met with in any other country: in appearance it much resembled endive, and when boiled, the flavour was very like sea-kale.

Another fruit, from being perfectly unknown to us, also attracted particular notice. It was round, and about the size of an apple, of a bright yellow colour; the flavour of it was most delicious, and when perfectly ripe, the pulp melted in the mouth. It had from four to five seeds resembling small tamarind stones; the stalk was formed and attached to the fruit like that of the potato-apple, which it much resembled, except in size. The plant on which it grew appeared to be a species of melon.

From the general climate of Chusan, there can be no doubt that all the grains, grasses, vegetables, and fruits of Europe might be produced on it. Mulberry trees were in great abundance, and the silk-worm succeeded remarkably well until the conquest of

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this island by the Tartars, when the trees were cut down, and the inhabitants of that day annihilated.

As the paddy is cut, it is gathered up in small bundles, and at once beaten out on a square sieve about five feet in length, which is erected in the field at an angle of about sixty degrees, having a box beneath it, into which the grain falls. Paddy may be seen at the same time in all the stages of cultivation, from that which is just out of the ground to that which is being reaped. Most abundant crops are produced, and the land is never allowed to be idle. Of kitchen vegetables it will produce three crops in a year; they manure it highly by a liquid preparation, with which each plant is constantly and copiously supplied. Horns, bones, hair, and every substance convertible into manure, is carefully husbanded throughout. Even the shavings of the head are kept for this purpose, and form no inconsiderable portion. It should be remembered that hundreds of millions have more than half the head close-shaved, the upper classes daily, and the

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lower as often as they can afford it. But there is a particular kind of manure which, being most valued, is frequently dried into small cakes, and thus transported from one place to another.

An officer in the expedition, who was very fond of tasting every thing he met with, boarded a junk laden with a quantity of these cakes, when mistaking them for biscuits he wished to ascertain if they were eatable, by breaking off a piece. Muss, muss, muss,—no taste; sniff, sniff, sniff,—no smell! What can they be?—and it was some time before it was known, when he took very good care to keep the laugh from himself by always being first to relate the tale.

The cotton grows on small plants, seldom more than eighteen inches or two feet in height, and is contained in a little pod. In most of the cottages the women may be seen carding and spinning the produce of their own fields, which is afterwards woven and dyed for family consumption.

Bricks, pans, and tiles, are manufactured from a fine blue clay, plentiful in this island.

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When burnt they retain their original colour, and when struck, emit a fine metallic sound. The first lieutenants soon found that, on having them pounded up, they answered admirably for polishing brass work. The bricks used in the parapet wall round the city, were of a very large size, each being stamped with the year when they were made. Lime appeared scarce, and what little they have is made from shells of the ostrea tribe. Charcoal, which is brought in large quantities from the main land, is used in burning the bricks and lime.

In this island almost every thing is borne on the shoulders of men, the roads which intersect it being very little better than footpaths. Wheeled vehicles seemed perfectly unknown.

But it is time that I should be getting on board the ship, and see what the squadron have been about. On the 12th of October, the Blenheim anchored at "St. Helens."

On the 13th, our second lieutenant, J. W. Conway, fell a victim to the climate. He had for a considerable time been suffering from severe dysentery, and for some days

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the most sanguine of us could not hope that he would long survive. In him I lost a highly esteemed messmate and friend, and the service a most promising and talented young officer. Captain Eyres had also for some days been alarmingly ill; but, under Divine Providence, a naturally strong constitution carried him through it, and he lived to reap a rich harvest of laurels in the Canton river.

The 14th was devoted to interring the remains of our late gallant messmate. A quiet and secluded place, near the engineers' encampment, was selected, a natural and beautiful arbour of trees being formed over the spot, which, for its sequestered situation, had been previously selected as the last resting-place of two of our military brethren. A numerous attendance of officers showed the high esteem in which he was held by all who knew him. At five o'clock in the afternoon, the procession of boats quitted the ship; and as the sun went down, the last words of the sublime funeral service of our church fell from the lips of his old friend and messmate, the Rev. Mr. Fielding, chaplain of the Melville.

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The marines fired the usual vollies, and we returned to the ship, sobered in spirit and thought by the melancholy duty we had been performing. Subsequently, a small stone was erected over the spot, bearing a neat and appropriate inscription.

We were now employed getting firewood on board from the men-of-war junks which had been driven on shore at the capture of the island, and watering from a large tank-place, that drained the paddy fields, the water in which was sweet, but so exceedingly muddy, that a bucket-full of it would, in a very short period, deposit about two inches of sediment. It was, however, "Hobson's choice."

On the 18th, the Blonde proceeded off Ning-po, where negotiations were still going on; and on the 21st, the Melville came out of the inner harbour, having repaired the injuries she had received, as well as the means afforded by the squadron and island admitted of; but she was found to be so seriously injured about the stern-post and dead wood, that it was obvious she would

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ultimately have to proceed to England or Bombay to be docked.

On the 27th, Elepoo, who had lately been appointed imperial commissioner to treat with the barbarians, sent a present of bullocks, sheep, &c., professing all kinds of goodwill towards the English :—

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

At this time Elepoo was for temporizing: he saw how unable the Chinese were to contend with us; therefore he coincided in Keshen's fast and loose policy, and a few days afterwards a truce was agreed on, the terms of which will be shortly seen.

On the 29th of October the Volage sailed for Manilla and Macao. Her captain (G. Elliot) was to make arrangements at the former place for the reception of numbers of the convalescent troops; it being hoped that a change of air would restore them to health. This fever broke down the spirits, and after shaking the sufferer for six or eight hours, left him in a state of great inertion, destroying even the love of life; and he too generally sunk quickly into the grave. But dysentery

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was even more fatal than the fever. It seldom gave up the victim it had once fixed on; and the finest young men, the flower of our regiments, fell before this malignant and virulent enemy.

The Conway, Algerine, and Young Hebe, sailed on the same day to continue a survey in the neighbourhood of the Kwesan islands.

On the 1st of November, we proceeded to "St. Helens" where we were employed purchasing bullocks for the squadron, in which we were very successful; our foraging parties generally bringing off from five to six head of cattle per day. The Pylades had gone to Sing Kong, at which town a detachment of troops were quartered. In the neighbourhood of Sing Kong are large stone quarries, the product of which might easily be brought to Ting-hai by water.

On the 6th, the following memorandum was issued to the squadron:—

"GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

"*H.M.S. Melville, Chusan, Nov.* 6, 1840.

"The commander-in-chief has now to give notice to the expedition, that a truce has

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been agreed to between the imperial high commissioner and himself, pending the negotiation between the two countries. The terms of which are, generally, that neither party shall advance beyond the boundary assigned to him, and that native intercourse is not to be interrupted. The English boundary has been defined as taking in the Island of Chusan and the small islands immediately adjacent, including all within a line run round the Elephant, Tower Hill, Blackwall, Fisher's Island, Pooto, Taouying-shan, forming one side of the south-east passage of Dalrymple's chart, and Deer Island.

"The commander-in-chief has therefore to call upon all persons, connected with the expedition, on visiting these islands, not to go beyond these boundaries, or in any way to interfere with the Chinese, as to give just cause of complaint that the truce is not strictly maintained on our part. The commander-in-chief is also glad to avail himself of this opportunity of recording the satisfaction he has felt at finding that a nearer friendly intercourse is springing up with the

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Chinese; and considering how very much the comforts and conveniences of the expedition depend on the extension of such intercourse, he calls with confidence on every officer and gentleman in the expedition to aid him in cultivating a good understanding with the people.

(Signed) "GEORGE ELLIOT,
"*Rear-Admiral, and Com.-in-Chief.*"

The whole of the detained junks were now allowed to proceed to their respective destinations; and this act of liberality, it was hoped, would cause the release of the captives at Ning-po; but in this expectation we were disappointed. Still a friendly intercourse was continued. Numerous supplies were sent to the prisoners from their friends in Chusan; though it afterwards appeared that the Chinese officers who conveyed them, did not forget to levy contributions on the different articles; for out of two dozen bottles of gin, one dozen had been emptied, and the bottles filled with water.

Satin and Chinese ware were purchased for those who wished to obtain them; and

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every kind of supply became most abundant, boats, containing much variety of them swarming from all quarters. Ducks' eggs had always been plentiful; and I must acknowledge it still puzzles me how such immense quantities of them could be brought to one point, *as ducks only lay one egg at a time.* The common price was one hundred for a "tolah." There must have been hundreds of thousands consumed, and yet the supply never failed. I doubt whether ducks were not very scarce on the second occupation of Chusan.

A vessel having arrived laden with woollen cloths, and as they would take nothing but the *Carolus* pillared dollars, the supply of which was beginning to fail, several bales of cloth were got from her, to try therewith to open a trade of barter for bullocks, but it did not succeed. The owners of the cattle would have nothing to do with it, or offered so low a price as to render any exchange impracticable.

During our stay at this anchorage we made constant trips to the surrounding islands; in

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one of which,—at Tea Island,—we had a good opportunity of minutely examining the far-famed little female feet. I had been purchasing a pretty little pair of satin shoes for about half a dollar, at one of the Chinese farmers' houses, where we were surrounded by several men, women, and children. By signs we expressed a wish to see the *pied mignon* of a really good-looking woman of the party. Our signs were quickly understood, but, probably, from her being a matron, it was not considered quite *comme il faut* for her to comply with our desire, as she would not consent to show us her foot; but a very pretty interesting girl of about sixteen was placed on a stool for the purpose of gratifying our curiosity.

At first she was very bashful, and appeared not to like exposing her Cinderella-like slipper; but the shine of a new and very bright "loopee" soon overcame her delicacy, when she commenced unwinding the upper bandage which passes round the leg, and over a tongue that comes up from the heel. The shoe was then removed, and the second bandage taken off, which did duty for a stocking; the turns

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round the toes and ankles being very tight, and keeping all in place.

On the naked foot being exposed to view we were agreeably surprised by finding it delicately white and clean, for we fully expected to have found it otherwise, from the known habits of most of the Chinese. The leg from the knee downwards was much wasted; the foot appeared as if broken up at the instep, while the four small toes were bent flat and pressed down under the foot, the great toe only being allowed to retain its natural position. By the breaking of the instep a high arch is formed between the heel and the toe, enabling the individual to step with them on an even surface; in this respect materially differing from the Canton and Macao ladies; for with them the instep is not interfered with, but a very high heel is substituted, thus bringing the point of the great toe to the ground.

When our Canton compradore was shown a Chusan shoe, the exclamation was "He-yaw! how can walkee so fashion?" nor would he be convinced that such was the case.

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The toes, doubled under the foot I have been describing, could only be moved by the hand sufficiently to show that they were not actually grown into the foot. I have often been astonished at seeing how well the women contrived to walk on their tiny *pedestals*. Their gait is not unlike the little mincing walk of the French ladies; they were constantly to be seen going about without the aid of any stick, and I have often seen them at Macao contending against a fresh breeze with a tolerably good-sized umbrella spread. The little children, as they scrambled away before us, balanced themselves with their arms extended, and reminded one much of an old hen between walking and flying.

All the women I saw about Chusan had small feet. It is a general characteristic of true Chinese descent; and there cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that it is confined to the higher orders, though it may be true that they take more pains to compress the foot to the smallest possible dimensions than the lower classes do. High and low, rich and poor, all more or less follow the

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custom; and when you see a large or natural-sized foot, you may depend upon it, the possessor is not of true Chinese blood, but is either of Tartar extraction, or belongs to the tribes that live and have their being on the waters. The Tartar ladies, however, are falling into this Chinese habit of distortion, as the accompanying edict of the emperor proves. For know, good people, you must not dress as you like in China. You must follow the customs and habits of your ancestors, and wear your winter and summer clothing as the emperor, or one of the six boards shall direct. If this were the custom in England, how beneficial it would be to our pockets, and detrimental to the tailors and milliners.

Let us now see what the emperor says about little feet, on finding that they were coming into vogue among the undeformed daughters of the Mantchows. Not only does he attack the little feet, but the large Chinese sleeves which were creeping into fashion at court. Therefore to check these misdemeanours, the usual Chinese remedy was resorted to, and a flaming edict launched,

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denouncing them; threatening the "heads of the families with degradation and punishment, if they did not put a stop to such gross illegalities;" and his celestial majesty further goes on and tells the fair ones, "that by persisting in their vulgar habits, they will debar themselves from the possibility of being selected as ladies of honour for the inner palace, at the approaching presentation!" How far this had the desired effect I cannot say.

When the children begin to grow, they suffer excruciating pain, but as they advance in years, their vanity is played upon by being assured that they would be exceedingly ugly with large feet. Thus they are persuaded to put up with what they consider a necessary evil, but the children are remarkably patient under pain. A poor little child about five years old was brought to our surgeon having been most dreadfully scalded, part of its dress adhering to the skin. During the painful operation of removing the linen, it only now and then said, "he-yaw, he-yaw."

As the little girl advances in years her hair becomes another matter of great atten-

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tion, and is generally very luxuriant; before marriage it is allowed to hang in two platted tails behind, but on changing her state it is turned up, the whole of the front hair being carried back and formed into a knot, drawn to the top of the head, when it is ornamented with many gay artificial flowers.

Marriage in China is to the female only a life of pain. They are absolutely dependent on the whims and caprices of their husbands, who look upon them, and treat them more in the light of slaves and servants than of companions. In their manners great modesty is affected; but it is only an affectation of modesty; for China is intrinsically an immoral and sensual nation.

Continuing our ramble, an old man met us, and invited us into his house. We purchased from him several boxes of artificial flowers, the colours of which were most natural imitations of the originals. These flowers were made of feathers and silk, most of the bouquets being ornamented with counterfeit butterflies or humming-birds; the imitation of the orange blossom was

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most beautifully executed; but like everything else, we paid for them about ten times as much as they were worth. Another old gentleman was most polite in his attentions, inviting us to his domicile, and regaling us with tea: he seemed perfectly happy at having an opportunity of showing his civility.

As we rambled along, observing a large and good-looking house, we determined to see what its inmates were like; when we popped upon an old lady and three very interesting daughters, employed in preparing cotton for spinning, all the men of the household being occupied in the fields. We were welcomed with smiles by the quartetto, who, though but a small farmer's family, displayed an ease and grace in their manners that we might look for in vain amongst our own cottagers. We speedily got up a flirtation of signs; and by showing a little shoe and a dollar, induced the matron of the party to part with a very pretty pair of green satin ones which she had on; when one of the daughters very gracefully presented me with

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a sprig of chrysanthemum that she had plucked in her garden for the purpose. Of course I put it in the button-hole of my coat; and remembering the charms of an anchor-button, gallantly cut one from my jacket, and presented it to the little coquette, who immediately attached it to the front of her dress. But as time was flying away, we were obliged to part from these agreeable little ladies, and make the best of our way on board.

The admiral having concluded the terms of the truce, it became necessary that he should proceed to the southward, as the interview with Keshen was to take place in the early part of next month; therefore on the morning of the 14th of November, the Melville, Wellesley, and Modeste were got under weigh, the Blenheim joining company outside, leaving Captain Bourchier in the Blonde, as senior naval officer at Chusan. At night the squadron anchored off Starboard Jack, (a low flat reef about ten miles north-west from Kewsan,) at which anchorage I will leave them for the present;

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and though it will be anticipating my subject, I will ere quitting Chusan bring all the occurrences that transpired there, up to its first, and I hope last, evacuation by our troops on the 23rd February, 1841.

As soon as the admiral had quitted Chusan, Elepoo issued a proclamation, setting forth that he would catch no more foreigners. Wonderful now was the change in the once deserted city of Ting-hai, thousands of people quickly flocked into it, and shops were opened in all directions; provisions became more than abundant, and the shops teemed with curiosities, &c. But this was not to last; for late in this month the king "of a hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs," the great Taou-kwang, was beginning to change his policy towards the foreigners, so that Elepoo was sharply admonished for giving away sacrificial animals to the rebellious barbarians, thus evidently showing that the war party was already gaining the ascendency in the councils at Pekin. It is worthy of observation, and should be attended to as an historical fact in any future

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negotiations with the Chinese, that the more yielding we have been, and the more inclined to make concessions to them, the more violent the court has become in hurling its threats and denunciations against us.

Elepoo, who had previously been all kindness and condescension, and who was, in fact, an aged and peaceable man, was now obliged to listen to the counsel of some would-be heroes about his person,—heroes who, according to their own showing, would annihilate in the twinkling of an eye, the whole British force in Chusan.

The emperor now directed that several line-of-battle ships should be constructed on the models of the barbarians, and that they should proceed against them.

What was to be done? Elepoo had heard that there were such vessels, but he had never seen them, and had a very indistinct idea of what they were like. To end the difficulty, he determined on doing it by a stroke of the pen; and, therefore, forthwith issued an edict, directing the head naval constructor at Ning-po to build several

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exact imitations of the large English ships; but he, being neither a Sir William Rule, nor a Sir Robert Seppings, after maturely considering the matter, and his perfect inability to comply with this peremptory order, took the usual Chinese method of getting out of his difficulties by quietly committing suicide.

This so exasperated the old man's son that he forwarded a complaint to Pekin against Elepoo for cruel and harsh treatment to his father; which charge was, with usual Chinese justice, eventually used in hurrying the commissioner's downfall, who, if he had represented to the court the inability that existed of building these vessels, would have been in a much worse predicament.

Having failed in ship-building, cannon founding was to be next tried; and huge guns were cast that would sink the barbarian "sanpans" at one discharge. Several millions of taels of copper were directed to be used for the purpose; a founder was sent expressly from Wanchoo to superintend the operations; and the Chinese went to work in

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earnest. But in this they were nearly as unsuccessful as they had been with their ship-building; for on attempting to prove the first gun, it burst, killing a corporal and two privates; nor could they prevail upon any one else to test the capabilities of the others. Not satisfied with this failure, Elepoo determined to cast larger ones still; and a number of new war-junks were ordered to be built at Amoy. When that place was captured, about a year afterwards a frigate-built junk was found in the harbour, pierced for thirty-two guns, a most unusual number, the Chinese having never before exceeded ten in each junk.

New defences were rapidly being erected round Ning-po, and ere the year was out, the whole neighbourhood of Chin-hai bristled with cannon. Five thousand troops were collected, and the invasion of Chusan talked of; but the troops soon became mutinous for their pay, which was squeezed from the citizens of Ning-po. The supreme government shortly afterwards furnished ten millions of taels for carrying on the operations. One

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heavy draft on the Ning-po resources was an allowance of thirty cash or tchen a-day made to all those who would fly from the city of Ting-hai, and this pitiful allowance was actually paid!—a rare instance of the authorities keeping their promises.

The latter part of November proved cold to the troops, accustomed as they had been to an Indian climate; the doors, windows, and wood-work of all descriptions belonging to the houses began to disappear, and roasting fires were kept up by the soldiers in their comfortless quarters, while many streets entirely disappeared. Reports were made, and orders issued to put a stop to these irregularities, and the burning the materials of the houses or their furniture was prohibited; little attention however was paid to the order.

Elepoo now threatened to burn the city, by which means he kindly hinted the barbarians would be able to warm themselves; but his emissary was told, that, "As his excellency showed such consideration for the welfare of the barbarians, they begged to assure him they were equally careful of *his*;

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and that, to return the compliment, both Hanchow and Ning-po should be burnt down in the sight of all the grandees now assembled at Chin-hai, as soon as Ting-hai was reduced to ashes." His messenger taking this speech down in writing, proceeded to lay it before the commissioner, who not being at all anxious for such fiery attentions from us dropped the subject.

If any thing could be wanting to prove Keshen's double dealing at Canton, his correspondence with Elepoo would clearly establish the fact; for he wrote to him at the very moment when he was professing to us at Canton peace and good will, as follows :—

"Get possession of Chusan by fair or foul means, no matter how; for hostilities must very soon commence, as the barbarians are unbending in their demands." Copies of the most secret state-papers, and the intended changes in men or measures were always communicated to the British; money being the means by which they were obtained, and this information was always proved to be correct by subsequent circumstances.

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Elepoo, in obedience to the emperor's orders, had made great preparations for the threatened invasion; but being doubtful as to the result, sent a messenger to Chusan, to try and play upon the fears of its present occupiers. This emissary performed his functions well, describing in glowing language the vast preparations which had been made by his master Elepoo, by Lew the lieutenant-governor, and Yu the general, for the total annihilation of the barbarians, and for obtaining possession of the island. Yet he was directed by Elepoo to say, that he was willing to spare their lives, and allow them to depart in peace, if they would do so quickly; but if they still persisted in their rebellious conduct, then would he bring his thousands, and utterly destroy them.

Elepoo gained nothing by these humane proposals, but an accusation forwarded to the imperial presence by his colleagues, of his being too peaceably inclined towards the barbarians; for which he was deprived of all military command, and the fire-eating Lew appointed in his stead generalissimo and

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commander-in-chief of the forces to proceed against Ting-hai. He was a man of high renown, and had been brought purposely from his former seat of warfare in Tzechuen, where he had met with great success, to aid the aged Elepoo with his advice.

All this had so much alarmed those Chinese who had returned to Ting-hai, that great numbers of them left the city, doubting whether the British would be able to withstand such a valiant leader, backed by so formidable a host as was said to be assembled in the neighbourhood of Ning-po. And justly might they do so, for they had, at that time, seen no proof of the valour of our troops, except in the capture of a small corner of Chusan by an overwhelming force; but as the Chinese failed in fulfilling their boast, confidence was partially restored, and supplies were again brought into the city.

The 13th and 14th of January, 1841, had been the days fixed on by Lew for his premeditated attack; when, lo! *this able general* discovered that an island could not be invaded without transports and war-junks for their protection.

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An embargo was then immediately laid on all the Fokien junks in the river, when a new difficulty arose, and the general was again disappointed; for all the crews deserted, positively refusing to go against the barbarian vessels, of whose prowess they had seen many instances along the coast.

This was rather an awkward dilemma for the valiant Lew after all his boasting. What would be said at Pekin? When he bethought himself of the never-failing Chinese remedy, namely, a letter full of falsehoods, which was immediately dispatched to the celestial presence, humbly setting forth, "that poor mortals must not oppose the will of heaven; that wind and weather were not at their disposal; that before commencing in any hostile movements they must wait till their deities were propitious, and that the moment they proved to be so he should proceed to the attack." His celestial majesty being well satisfied of Lew's fierce and fighting qualities, gave him permission to "bide his time," which time never arrived.

The cold weather did wonders amongst the

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troops, who rapidly recovered from their late diseases. Confidence between them and the Chinese was increasing, and the beneficial effects of the magistracy established in the city were beginning to be experienced; for, in January, 1841, not more than thirty cases were brought before Captain Caine, the magistrate, and most of these cases were for selling spirits to the soldiers.

The thieving propensities which the Chinese had at first practised towards the troops had gradually yielded before the wholesome discipline of the lash, and that of cutting off the tails of the most worthless. Had the penal code of China been carried out, according to the proclamation, in which it was promised that the inhabitants should be governed by Chinese law, many a poor fellow would have been decapitated; but the milder system was found to have the desired effect.

I may here remark that the natives of this island appeared a hard-working quiet race of men, submitting patiently to their rulers, but entertaining very indifferent principles as to *meum* and *tuum*.

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Frequent visits were made during the winter months into the interior of this fine island. Game was abundant, and the sportsman was amply rewarded for his pains.

Good order was now fast prevailing, and Chusan ere long would have been a bright jewel in the British crown, when the Columbine arrived from Canton with orders for the evacuation of the island, in compliance with the terms of the treaty made between her majesty's plenipotentiary and Keshen, at second-bar pagoda. Nearly at the same time an authentic proclamation of the emperor's was received, in which he announced to the Ning-po authorities his full determination to carry on the war at all risks.

Under these circumstances I think the Brigadier would have been perfectly justified in suspending the evacuation until further communication with the plenipotentiary, when, no doubt, the orders would have been countermanded; for the forces from Chusan arrived in the Canton River after Keshen's want of faith was discovered, and after the Anunghoy forts at the Bocca Tigris had been destroyed

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It was true that Chusan could be retaken whenever it should be thought requisite to do so; but the moral effect of the evacuation could not be so quickly removed from the minds of the Chinese nation, to whom it was represented, by their own government, that the barbarians had been driven out of the island. Again it may be said, that Captain Anstruther, Lieutenant Douglas, Mrs. Noble, and the rest of the prisoners at Ning-po, would not have been released, had Chusan not been given up; and if it were a fact that they could not have been obtained without that measure, no one could regret the step. But there were two ways by which they might have been released.

I have already shown, that arrangements had been made for the escape of the officers being connived at; which was most magnanimously refused by them, unless the whole party were included, which the addition of a few more dollars, no doubt, would have effected. Should this have failed, a rapid movement on Ning-po would at once have effected the object, and have restored the

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confidence of the wavering natives. But the orders were to be obeyed, and an announcement to that effect was made to Elepoo.

When this became known to the native population, their terror and grief were very apparent, and they began quitting the city with their property, much more rapidly than they had done when the English first entered it. They well knew that their own mandarins and officers would most assuredly plunder them of every dollar, and excuse themselves, by accusing the inhabitants of being traitorous natives, for which beheading would be the mildest punishment. The city was, therefore, more deserted than it had ever been, and consternation and terror were visible in the countenances of the few who, having nothing to lose, remained to the last. Their barbarian conquerors had become endeared to them by the mildness, yet firmness, of their government.

Some delays and shufflings took place with Elepoo about surrendering the prisoners; but finding, from the firmness of Captain Bourchier, that the English would not give

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him possession of the island until they were actually on board the fleet, they were forwarded as before described.

On the 23rd of February, 1841, the British colours were struck, after having been displayed for more than seven months over the walls of Ting-hai. I will quote the words of an officer who was present at the scene:—"Then came the imperial commissioner's envoy, Chang, the slave and confidential servant of Elepoo, two serjeants, styling themselves captains, and one corporal, who took the brevet of a lieutenant. They went with the British officers to the city; and when our guards were removed, they having brought no Chinese soldiers to replace them, the mob rushed into the temple of Confucius, and cleared the building of the pawnbroker's goods, and other articles there deposited. When the city was restored to his imperial majesty, a few of the people assembled at the southern gate, and the soldiers having all marched out, and one 'foreigner' remaining to strike the flag, they fell down upon their faces, and would have done him reverence,

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in order to show the high veneration in which they held the British rule. The flag was then hauled down, and the guard embarked."

Thus did this fine island and its dependencies cease to be a British possession. The compradore, who had been kidnapped by the Chinese at the first occupation, was not delivered up with the rest of the prisoners; the Chinese stating, that as he was a subject of the celestial empire, we had no right to claim his liberation. I regret to say, that this was allowed, when keeping the island a few hours would, in all probability, have brought Elepoo into conformity with our wishes; for so anxious was he to be able to report to the emperor that he had got possession of Chusan, that it was not only one compradore, but a dozen, if he had them in his possession, that he would have surrendered in order to obtain the desired object.

On Elepoo's reports reaching Pekin, the "relative of the sun and moon" was highly indignant at the peaceable steps he had taken

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to gain possession of Chusan, and bitterly reproached the old man for them, depriving him of all his appointments, for not having displayed the terrors of the celestial empire.

During the British occupation of the island, surveys were carried on by Captain Drinkwater Bethune, and Lieutenant (now Commander) Collinson, the latter officer having arrived from England in the Blenheim expressly for the purpose of carrying on the surveys in the China Seas.

The climate of Chusan, in the variation of its temperature, is very similar to that in the same latitude in North America. The following will show the maximum and minimum of the thermometer in the shade :—

	Thermometer.	Barometer.
September,	from 103 to 65	from 30 to 29·022
October,	„ 92 to 51	„ 30·335 to 30·—
November,	„ 74 to 40	„ 30 — — —
December,	„ 77 to 27	„ 30·588 to 30·02
January,	„ 60 to 28	„ 30·606 to 3·084
February,	„ 60 to 25	

The barometer was observed to fall in light or easterly winds. The greatest range

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of the thermometer in twenty-four hours was 28 degrees. About forty rainy days occurred in the above six months; and the northerly monsoon commenced in October, but could not be considered to blow with much force until the following month.

In Appendix A, will be found some interesting provincial reports, and imperial edicts, relative to the capture and occupation of Chusan.

It will be remembered, that on the 14th of November, 1840, the line-of-battle ships, accompanied by the Modeste, were at anchor off Starboard Jack, from whence they proceeded at daylight, on the 15th, in their way to the Canton River. The prevailing strong and steady northerly winds made the voyage only a short one. Numerous fishing-junks were observed after passing the Formosa channel, and which we found it not always easy to avoid coming in contact with; as, when trawling, the net is dragged between two of them, the leading junk being about two cables' length a-head but withal on the weather-bow, of his companion. Should

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a vessel, therefore, attempt to pass between these pairs, she is almost certain of fouling the leewardmost one, as proved to be the case in the middle watch of the 18th. The officer in charge of the deck, not being aware of this method of fishing, on a junk being reported a-head, continued on the course which would just pass astern of her, when almost instantly, the ship was struck on the lee bow by her partner, the owner of which was standing forward with a lantern. The concussion, of course, dashed it out of his hand, the ship going ten knots at the time. The junk passed rapidly aft; fortunately, her mast cleared the ship's main-yard, and if she was injured, her companion could readily render her assistance. The force of the blow awoke all hands; and on getting into harbour, the planking of the ship's bow was found to be much injured.

At daylight of the 19th, the Great Lema was made, and the ships hauled up for the eastern channel. About 11, a pilot went alongside the flag-ship to offer his services, and on their being rejected, could not

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understand "How four-piece ship no wan-chee pilot."

The Calliope, Captain (now Sir Thomas) Herbert, and Hyacinth joined company, the former ship having lately arrived from South America, and at dark the squadron anchored off the entrance of the Lantoa channel.

The 21st the shipping were working up to Toong-koo bay, when Captain Scott, of her majesty's ship Samarang, then lying in Macao roads, pulled out to the flag-ship. The Samarang also was one of the South American squadron, which had been sent from that station to China. The weather coming on thick, towards evening the squadron were anchored, the Modeste doing so in three fathoms water, off the south end of the Island of Saw-chow, and the next morning she proceeded between that and Chie-lo-cock Island to Urmstone's anchorage. The line-of-battle ships arriving shortly after, they having to go round the north end of Toong-koo Island.

Having anchored the squadron in a safe and spacious bay, where we found the Druid,

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Larne, Jupiter troop-ship, Atalanta and Queen steamers, I will proceed in my next Chapter to take a cursory view of what had transpired in the river during the admiral's absence, for which purpose I must beg leave to revert to the month of June, from which time I shall carry the incidents up to the moment of the admiral's arrival; after which, to use a technical phrase, it will be pretty "plain sailing."

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CHAPTER VI.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE CANTON RIVER.

Proceedings at Macao during the absence of the Admiral—Smuggling by the Broadway—New Rewards for British—Enlisting Troops—Chalking Fingers—Two Officers robbed—Abduction of Mr. Staunton—His Treatment—Demanded by Captain Smith—Account of the Barrier—Return of the Taou-tae—Answer to Captain Smith's Demand—Preparations for attacking the Barrier—Victory thereat—Effects of it—Chinese claim the Battle—Chinese leave Macao—Lin delivers up his Seals—Lin's Character—Arrival of 37th Madras Native Infantry—Lin's Memorial—Force in River—Flag of Truce again fired on—Queen's 68-pounders—Toong-koo—Roasting Soldiers—Sentence of Paoupang—Squadron proceed to Chuenpee—Admiral resigns the command—Anecdote—Joss-house—Female Offering—Release of Mr. Staunton—Christmas-day—Captain Smith and Mandarin.

With trial fire touch me his finger end;
If he be chaste, the flame will back descend,
And turn him to no pain; but if he start,
It is the flesh of a corrupted heart.—SHAKSPEARE.

THE blockade of the river, which had been declared by Sir Gordon Bremer on his

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arrival, was inforced at the Bocca Tigris; but the fast-boats continued to smuggle teas and silks to Macao, through the broadway or Hong-shan river; which communicates direct from Canton with the inner harbour, but is not navigable for vessels drawing above four or five feet water. By these means ships were occasionally loaded and dispatched for Europe.

The Heangshan magistrate Woo, under Lin's direction, now fairly threw the gauntlet, in a proclamation that he issued, in which he first alludes to the arrival of the vessels of war, and expresses his fears that, "like rats, they will enter all the ways;" *i. e.*, passages; he therefore commands additional troops to be placed in the forts, and a strict watch to be kept on the vagabond foreigners, repeating the before-offered rewards for the ships and persons of foreigners; but again cautions them not to interfere with "the Portuguese, or those of other nations who have been respectfully obedient to the commands of the celestial dynasty."

He further stimulates them in the following

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energetic language:—"If any English, sailing in their boats, or sauntering on the shore, enter the country to create a disturbance, at once fly and report them to the officers, civil and military; and then hasten to stop, attack, burn, and destroy them. Fishermen and boatmen, soldiers and people, whoever of you can cut off and destroy one foreigner, will become a just man." After assuring them the rewards would most certainly be paid, he continues,—"Valiant heroes! possessed of an excellent name and rich rewards, let not the heads of the base foreigners long be wanting to establish your characters; act like men. . . . . Be careful not to frustrate your high hopes. Be careful! be careful! A special edict." But the barbarians were not brought in, notwithstanding these edicts and offers of rewards, which only served to keep the community in a state of excitement.

On the 22nd, in opposition to all laws of neutrality, a proclamation, offering rewards for the lives of the English, was stuck up at Macao, but was shortly torn

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down on the remonstrance of the Portuguese authorities.

The enlistment of the five thousand troops, which the Hong and other merchants had been ordered to raise, took place in this month. As six dollars per mensem were to be their pay, and numbers had been thrown out of employ by the stagnation of trade, there was no lack of recruits. The coolies flocked up in thousands to offer themselves "as food for powder." The enlistment of these men was carried on in the following remarkable manner.

Booths, or more properly barracks, were erected in the square in front of the factories, the Kwang-chow-foo and other high officers being present, attended by the Hong, Salt, and Chinchew merchants. The would-be six dollars a-month men, for I cannot call them soldiers, or even embryo soldiers, were assembled in vast crowds about the booths.

Before the Kwang-chow-foo's tent the lictors kept a large open space, into which the volunteers were introduced; when, to prove their qualifications for the new corps, they

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were required to lift a spar about five feet long with a circular or wheel-shaped piece of granite at each end; the combined weight of which was about one hundred catties: this was to be taken off the ground with both hands, and raised above the head till the arms were straight. I have since seen some men, after getting it to this position, retain it there for some seconds with one hand only; but whether they got a high step in the corps for so doing I cannot say*.

Those who succeeded in lifting this weight were marched up to a table for registry; the others being at once rejected. At the table the process was novel in the extreme; nor have I been able to learn the meaning or

* A note, explanatory of the third verse of the twelfth chapter of Zechariah, in the *Pictorial Bible*, says, when speaking of a burdensome stone, "That according to Jerome, large and heavy stones were kept in the towns and villages of Judea, and the youth exercised themselves in trying who should lift it highest. In the piratical Barbary states, it is said that European captives, when disposed of as slaves, were compelled by their captors or intended purchasers, to afford evidence of strength by lifting large stones provided for the purpose."—*Chinese Repository.*

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magic of the ceremony. At the side of the table stood a man *armed* with a large piece of chalk about two catties in weight. As the tyros, trembling with expectation, advanced, it was this man's duty to seize them by the wrist, and to proceed to rub the balls of the thumbs and fingers of both hands with the chalk. After a long and no gentle rubbing, he appeared satisfied with his own performance, and handed them over one by one to an old man, who appeared to keep the final registry-book. This worthy placed his nose, for want of glasses, close to the chalked finger-balls, and accepted or rejected the nervously trembling candidate for military glory.

Great excitement prevailed on the 6th of August, in consequence of the mysterious disappearance of Mr. Staunton, a student of Cambridge University, who, in the absence of a clergyman, performed divine service at the British chapel established at the house of the second superintendent. Mr. Staunton, for a length of time, had been in the daily habit of walking out early in the morning to

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bathe at Cassilha Bay. On the evening of the 5th he had agreed with some friends, to meet them on the following morning, and proceed to bathe with them; but as they saw nothing of him,—and from his very early habits, he had often before not joined them,—no particular notice was taken of his absence until near noon, when the people at the house at which he resided began to think his not returning very extraordinary. Enquiries were set on foot, the beach was searched, but no remains of his clothes could be found; the Chinese authorities positively denied all knowledge of him. Although it appeared to all parties unlikely that he should have been drowned, as no clothes could be found, fishermen were employed to drag the bay in every direction, but without success.

This excitement continued during the 6th and 7th, suspicion becoming every moment stronger that he had been kidnapped by the Chinese. On the 9th, this suspicion was confirmed, for it was then known that he had been seen the previous day near the Bogue forts badly wounded, with his clothes torn

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and bloody, in custody of the notorious Wang Chung.

The moment this was ascertained, an express was sent to Captain Smith at Capsing-moon, detailing the circumstances, on the receipt of which Captain Smith hastened to Macao in the Enterprise steamer, and assured the merchants that most energetic steps should be taken for the safety of Mr. Staunton. A letter had already been forwarded from Mr. Johnston, the second superintendent, to the Portuguese governor, urging on him the necessity of taking steps for the release of Mr. Staunton, who had been violently abducted, while peaceably residing under the Portuguese flag; and that he was called upon to take such steps as should prevent a similar outrage occurring to those whose safety had been so repeatedly guaranteed. This was done by the whole of the Portuguese population taking on themselves the office of watchmen, and assisting the troops in patrolling the streets at night.

Several letters passed between the Portuguese governor and Captain Smith, and on

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the 17th the latter was enabled to announce to the British community, that the governor had assured him that the Taou-tae had quitted Macao on the 11th for the purpose of laying before the viceroy, Lin, demands couched in the strongest terms, for the release of Mr. Staunton, and that his excellency would state the result of the mission as soon as it became known to him.

It was subsequently learnt that, while dressing after bathing, Mr. Staunton had been suddenly surrounded by about a dozen soldiers, who had concealed themselves behind the rocks round Cassilha Bay. In an attempt to run, he unfortunately fell, and was immediately seized and carried into a boat, which was in readiness to convey the party up the river. After a few hours he was removed into a larger boat, and conveyed to the Bogue, and at sunset was put as a prisoner on board a cruizing junk close to Anunghoy, in which vessel he was kindly treated by the two officers commanding her, who, during her passage to Canton, questioned him as to "his honourable name and country." One

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of the poorest of his captors on quitting him, gave him a handful of cash, that he might not be without the means of procuring food.

After an examination he was sent to the custody of the magistrate of the Nanhae district; two soldiers were kept at the door of his apartment, and a servant and linguist appointed to attend to his wants. It was at first suggested that he should be offered as a sacrifice to the demon of war; but the English were too well known in Canton for more than the suggestion of such an intention, though we have seen, and shall see, that in other parts of China, the most revolting and barbarous cruelties were practised by the Chinese on their English prisoners, even on the dead bodies of many of those who fell in the country.

I must now partially break through my resolution of not describing Macao until my residence there, as without some account of the barrier, the reader might be puzzled to understand the following account of our proceedings.

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Macao is the extreme southern point of the Island of Heangshan, and were it not for an isthmus, which unites it to that island, would itself form one about two miles in length. This isthmus or neck is three-quarters of a mile in length, and twenty rods broad. When the Portuguese were first allowed to settle on Macao, a high party or barrier-wall, composed of stone and brick, and extending into the sea on each side, was erected by the Chinese, across and nearly in the middle of this neck of land. In this wall is a gateway, at which a Chinese guard is constantly kept to prevent the ingress of foreigners, who are closely confined to the small spot of Macao; but through this opening the Chinese themselves pass and repass the whole day, it being the only means of getting to Macao on *terra firma*.

The whole of the land on the south side of the barrier, as far as foreigners are concerned, is considered under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese, and, until recent events, had ever been considered strictly neutral. To

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the eastward of the barrier and town, is the anchorage known as Macao Roads; while on the west, between it and the Lappa or Twee-lin-shan, is the inner harbour, extending along the side of the neck as far as Casa-blanca or Tsëen-shan. The Typa anchorage is about two miles off the south point of Macao, between the Island of Typa-que-brada, or Kai-ke-ong, and Toe-ko-ke-tou, or Mackareera. All these anchorages were considered as neutral during the last European war. Two miles in a north-easterly direction from the barrier is the town or port of Casa-blanca, at which the Keun-min-foo, or sub-prefect of Macao, resides. At the end of the isthmus, nearest Macao, and underneath the brow of the hill, the new joss-house, or temple of Leën-fung-meaou, is situated.

When the Taou-tae * was sent to Macao in the January of this year, he had under his command about two hundred troops, which were quartered in Mongha, with a hundred or more beyond the barrier, having a small

* Intendant of circuit.

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detachment at the joss-house. In the inner harbour were eight of the largest sized war-junks and some troop-boats, making the land and sea forces amount to about two thousand men. It was singular enough that on the very night of the day on which Captain Smith had issued his circular, relative to the information from the governor, the Taou-tae returned from Canton, but, instead of being accompanied by Mr. Staunton, brought a large accession of troops and war-junks, by which addition the Chinese force was increased to five thousand men.

He then declared to the governor, that the viceroy, Lin, was determined not to give up his prisoner, but had instructed him to drive the English out of Macao, and desired the assistance of the Portuguese in so doing. The moment this answer was announced to Captain Smith, the Enterprise was dispatched to Cap-sing-moon for the Druid; with which ship she arrived on the 18th, accompanied by the transport Nazareth Shah, having a detachment of the Bengal volunteers on board; the corvettes Hyacinth

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and Larne being then in Macao Roads. During the night, the Chinese had hauled their war-junks and troop-boats further into the inner harbour.

About noon on the 19th, the British corvettes, accompanied by the Louisa cutter and the Enterprise steamer, having the seamen and marines of the Druid, with the Bengal volunteers on board, proceeded, under the direction of Captain Smith, to the attack of the barrier. These vessels, standing into Fisherman's Bay as near to the shore as the depth of water would allow, or the ships could be forced through the mud, opened their fire on a battery of seventeen guns, about six hundred yards from them, which was promptly returned by it. The Chinese troops from the boats and temple, collecting in squads, under cover of the neck of land, attempted to do what execution they could with a number of old rusty swivels and matchlocks, while the troops at Mongha were hastening to the assistance of their comrades.

The junks, which were aground in the

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inner harbour, were utterly useless, for none of their guns could be brought to bear, though several of the thirty-two pound shots from the ships found their way over the bank, much to the consternation of the occupants of the junks.

In less than an hour twenty-seven guns, which were mounted on the battery and barrier, were silenced, and the forces were landed; when the field-piece of the Druid being placed in position to the north of the barrier wall, raked the whole of it. By the help of some additional volleys from the troops it was soon cleared; not a symptom of an enemy being seen on the battery, barrier, or adjacent fields. The British flag was now flying on the barrier-wall, being the first time that any foreign force ever waved a standard thereon. Some few guns were now fired at our troops from the junks and from a gun which they had landed near the temple. There also came a few random shots from the neighbourhood of Casablanca, which, from the great distance, had no effect.

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By 5 o'clock, however, the rout had become general, when the barracks and tents of the Chinese troops were set on fire; thus announcing to the assembled thousands on the hills and house-tops the fate of the day. Upon this the spectators immediately dispersed in all directions, fearing that the victors would be as unmerciful to them as they well knew their own countrymen would have been to an enemy, under similar circumstances.

The British force which had been landed consisted of one hundred and ten royal marines, in charge of Lieutenant Maxwell of that corps; ninety seamen from the Druid, commanded by Lieutenant Goldsmith, of that ship; and one hundred and eighty of the Bengal volunteers, forming a brigade of three hundred and eighty men, commanded by Captain Mee of the latter corps. The loss of the British amounted to four wounded, two of whom were injured by the explosion of a magazine. The Chinese stated their loss at seven or eight killed: but, without doubt, were either of these numbers mul-

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tiplied by ten, the amount would be much nearer the truth*.

The "fire-eating barbarians" having embarked after finishing their work and spiking the guns, the Chinese troops in a few days recovered from their panic, and encamped on the hills about three-quarters of a mile from the scene of their late defeat; removing the guns from the barrier and battery, and mounting them when unspiked in their new fortifications.

Too much praise cannot be accorded to Captain Smith for his prompt and vigorous measures during the foregoing circumstances; the lesson he taught them has never since been forgotten by the Chinese at Macao. They henceforth ceased to annoy the British residents at that place, and never after kept a soldier in the town or at the barrier. When

* It is the constant practice of the Chinese to make the greatest exertions to carry off their dead, and to effect it they will expose themselves to the most galling fire. They imagine that when the dead man is buried his spirit is absorbed into their ancestral gods, but that if a body remains unburied it is "then the same like one dog."

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any rumour of a stoppage of supplies has been heard, a whisper to the Keun-min-foo, that our troops might in such a case be very likely to visit Casa-blanca *to look for* them, has had the desired effect. He well knew that it was only our forbearance that allowed him to rest in peace and "*keep his face clean* in the sight of the emperor." According to the usual Chinese practice, a flaming despatch was forwarded by the Taou-tae to Lin, announcing a victory; and a board was stuck up over the Keun-min-foo's office of Tseanshan with the inscription, *Tihshing*, which means *a glorious victory*. Yih, notwithstanding his despatch, was superseded, and an officer of a similar rank, called "Ma," appointed to take his command.

The month of September passed without any particular public event occurring. The blockade of the river being kept up, the Chinese pilots were directed by their authorities to go on board any foreign vessels arriving at Macao, to separate them carefully from the English, and strive to prevail upon them to proceed to Whampoa. This was of course ineffectual.

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Lin, agreeably to the imperial edict of the 27th of September, (vide Appendix A,) by which he was degraded from his government, and ordered to repair to Pekin, "with the speed of flames," on the 14th of October delivered the seals of his office to the Fooyuen; Wan, the Hoppo, having also been cited to Pekin, doing the same; but they were now countermanded and directed to await at Canton,—with Tang Tingching, and Han Shaouking, and six officers who had been banished for opium-dealing,—the arrival of Keshen, by whom their conduct was to be examined into.

It is but common justice to Lin to remark, that though even under the imperial displeasure, he was much liked by the people over whom he had lately held command; and his bitterest enemies were obliged to allow that his hands had never been contaminated by bribes,—a most unheard of circumstance among Chinese statesmen.

In person, Lin is short, but of a compact make, about forty-five years of age, with a fine intelligent forehead and a rather pleas-

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ing expression of countenance, enlivened by small dark piercing eyes, and possessing a voice strong, clear, and sonorous. In dress he is plain, while in his manners he can be courteous, but is more generally rather abrupt. In Appendix B, will be found an account of an amusing interview between him and some gentlemen who were wrecked in the barque Sunda, in the October subsequent to the seizure of the opium, and who were carried by the Hainan authorities to Canton, being kindly treated by the Chinese on their route.

The French nation about this time began to show some interest in Chinese affairs; for on the 20th of October, Monsieur C. A. Challoye, "Attaché au Consulat général de Manille, Gérant du Consulat de France en Chine," arrived, and from the existing blockade, took up his residence at Macao.

Three transports during the month, with the 37th Madras native infantry on board, came into the roads. After these ships had entered the China Sea they experienced a most terrific typhoon, in which the Thetis,

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one of the number, was dismasted; and a fourth vessel, the Golconda, having the head-quarters and staff of the regiment on board, foundered. It is a singular fact, that two or three officers and about thirty men had, by peculiar circumstances, been exchanged from this ill-fated ship into some of the others, just previously to their sailing from Madras.

On the 7th, Lin presented an humble memorial to the celestial throne, craving punishment on himself, and recommending that resistance should be made to the demands of the British. He proposed delays as one of the best methods of weakening them; and volunteered to proceed to Che-kiang, to oppose them Wang, the censor of the province of Honan, and many other high officers, addressed memorials to the emperor to the same effect; some of them recommending that the rebel barbarian prisoners at Ning-po and Canton should be put to death.

During the blockade of the river many salt junks were detained by the force, and sent down to Saw-chow, under which island

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they were to lie at anchor, their rudders being unshipped.

Having thus brought the proceedings of the Canton squadron up to the 20th of November, 1840, I shall once more resume the account of the general movements of the squadron in the river, which at this moment consisted of the following vessels:—Melville 74, Wellesley 74, Blenheim 74, Druid 44, Calliope 26, Samarang 26, Herald 26, Larne 18, Hyacinth 18, Modeste 18, Columbine 16, Louisa cutter. Steamers Queen, Enterprise, and Nemesis; Jupiter, troop-ship, and several transports.

On the 21st, immediately after the ships had anchored at Toong-koo, the Queen was dispatched to the Bogue to announce the admiral's arrival, and to deliver a despatch for Keshen, which Captain Elliot had brought from Elepoo at Ning-po, announcing the truce that he had agreed on.

The steamer carrying a flag of truce, as soon as she arrived abreast of the first fort, Shakoo, dispatched a boat with a similar flag flying to that fort, which was situated on

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the eastern side of the channel at Chuenpee, or Stream's Nose. Round the watch-tower of that place a new circular fort had been erected, commanding that of Shakoo, which was at the north-western base of the hill, whereon the tower and new battery stood. The boat, however, had hardly quitted the steamer, when a fire was opened on both of them from the new battery; upon which the boat was recalled. Out of more than twenty shots only one took effect, striking the iron of one of the paddle-wheels, and then glancing off from the side of the vessel. This insult to the flag of peace was not allowed to pass unresented, and the steamer complimented the fort with a few sixty-eight-pound shot and shell before returning to Toong-koo. The next day some of the sixty-eight-pound shots were forwarded to the authorities at Canton, who "hi-yaw'd" at their enormous size.

On the arrival of the steamer at Toong-koo, the Hyacinth and Columbine were immediately dispatched to the Bogue. Captain Charles Elliot the same evening proceeded to Macao, from which place the despatch for

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Keshen was, through the pilot, forwarded to the Keun-min-foo at Casa-blanca, by whom it was eventually sent to Canton.

A great number of Chinese had assembled in boats, and on the shore of Castle Peake Bay, feeling secure under the British protection, and knowing well that they did not dare go near their own mandarins, by whom they would be imprisoned and otherwise severely punished for dealing with the barbarians, who truly would have been badly enough off for fresh provisions, but for the constant supply kept up by these people.

When the shipping shifted their anchorage the whole town moved too; and it was strange to see with what rapidity it presently sprang up on a sandy and barren spot, four-and-twenty hours sufficing for the operation. The houses were formed of bamboo poles and mats, and the whole male and female population were generally employed in their erection. No nails were required, no carpenter wanted, the whole being bound together with thin strips of bamboo,—the most useful tree in the

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world. For the morality of these migratory bipeds I fear I can say but little; for, when rambling through the bazaar of an evening, I could perceive little else going forward than gambling and opium-smoking.

The Chinese are, without exception, the most confirmed gamblers in the world. I think they even exceed the Malays in that propensity. I could not sufficiently understand any of their games to be able to explain them; but dice and cards appeared to be the principal instruments.

Although I saw many smoking in the opium-booths, I observed none of those horrid-looking objects that are described by others, and who, I therefore can only suppose, become so emaciated from an *excessive* consumption of the drug. For I have little hesitation in saying, that there was not a single Chinese at Toong-koo, who did not make use of the opium pipe when he could afford it; and I have frequently found the bumboat man, who used to attend the ship, lying in his little cabin, where both he and his wife were enjoying the forbidden luxury;

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but on his services being required, he was always ready and willing to go to work.

On the squadron proceeding to the Bogue these natives could not accompany it, as there was no situation in which they could have erected their town; but as the Jupiter and many merchant-ships remained at Toong-koo, they felt perfectly safe. Some unhappy Chinese soldiers, however, taking advantage of the absence of the principal part of the squadron, established themselves in a boat amongst this musquito fleet, taking down the names of *the traitorous natives*, for the purpose of denouncing them to the mandarins. One of these soldiers in an unguarded moment, when overcome with shamsoo, "let the cat out of the bag." Horrid vengeance was instantly taken on the whole party; their boat being surrounded, was set fire to, and these poor wretches were literally roasted alive, their persecutors preventing their escape with long bamboos.

This deed is too horrible to contemplate, and could only take place in China. Yet had these miserable spies succeeded in their object,

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they would have brought down unheard-of punishments on hundreds of innocent people, who were relations of the Toong-koo Chinese; for, according to the *very mild and just laws* of China, the family and connections of *supposed* culprits are held responsible, and punished for the *unproved* crimes of their relatives.

This fact is clearly established by the case of Paoupang, the compradore, who was the bearer of the correspondence between Keshen and the plenipotentiary. He was sentenced to be cut into ten thousand pieces; his *relatives* were to be put to death; the village in which he had resided was to be utterly destroyed, and the country laid desolate for sixty le round it.

On the 24th, the Calliope, Hyacinth, Larne, and Queen steamer, proceeded to the Bogue. A most handsome apology had been made for firing on the Queen, it having happened, as they stated, from the ignorance of the officer at the Chuenpee fort of the meaning of the white flag. The authorities offered to punish him most severely if it were

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required. The apology, however, was considered ample.

On the 25th of November, the Nemesis, iron steamer, commanded by Mr. W. H. Hall, a master in the Royal Navy, arrived from England. The Nemesis is a remarkably fine boat, hired by the Company for work on the River Hooghly, but sent to China to join the British squadron. Her draught of water, when she is light and with her sliding keel up, is only four feet: this rendered her particularly valuable to the force in the Canton River. On the morning of the 28th, the fleet having completed their water, which may be procured from two or three streams that discharge themselves into this bay, were got under weigh, and proceeded to work out of Toong-koo Bay, on their passage to Chuenpee, an anchorage at the entrance of the Bocca Tigris, where they would remain during the conference and expected settlement with Keshen. When nearly abreast of Toong-koo Island, we saw a long way to windward a large fast-boat board and plunder a smaller one, the men of which jumped overboard.

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As soon as the pirates had taken all they wanted, they had the humanity to pick up those who were in the water, and finally landed them at Sanchoo. What a most extraordinary nation is this! they will commit the most unheard-of acts of barbarity, and at the same time be merciful and kind. They will trade with you at one spot, while you are fighting, killing, and destroying them at another! This has been amply proved in the present war.

After clearing Toong-koo, we bore up to pass round the Lintin south sand-head. This accomplished, we continued beating up the river until about three in the afternoon, when the ebb-tide making, the squadron was anchored. On the 29th, immediately after weighing, a chop-boat went along side the Melville with our old friend Captain White, and another military officer. The object of their visit was to announce that Keshen would on that day make his public entry into Canton, which he must have done about the same time they were making the communication. Keshen had been in the

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neighbourhood of the provincial city for about a week previously, but he did not receive the governor's seals until the 3rd of December.

The signal to anchor having been made rather before the tide had finished, the captains were all immediately summoned on board the flag-ship. The admiral, whose health had been long declining, feeling it utterly impossible to continue in his command, in consequence of a disease of the heart, which rendered him during the paroxism absolutely unfit for mental exertion, resolved at once on resigning in favour of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer. He could, it is true, have retired to Macao, where quiet would probably have abated his disease, and might have deputed the second in command to carry on the negotiations. But this course his high and honourable mind at once rejected: he would not take the laurels from another's brow, painful as it must have been to quit at a moment when he himself, Captain Elliot, and many others, felt fully convinced of the good faith and honesty of

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Keshen, and that an honourable and highly advantageous treaty would shortly be concluded. He preferred, however, taking the step already mentioned, and relinquishing to the commodore the grateful task of finally arranging the treaty. By this resignation Sir Gordon Bremer became a second time within the year commander-in-chief on the India station. Though it had been kept from the knowledge of the squadron, Admiral Elliot's health had for some time been in a very precarious state. As long before as when Lord Jocelyn proceeded to England, the admiral had forwarded to the home authorities a request to be superseded, hoping at that time that he might be able to struggle on until another admiral should be appointed from England.

The Queen steamer having arrived on the 30th, for the purpose of proceeding to Macáo with the admiral, he embarked on board that vessel amidst the regrets of all those who had been under his command, his old Cape squadron loudly cheering him as the steamer passed by them. The flag was hoisted on

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board the Modeste at sunset, as she was to proceed to Macao with the admiral's baggage, there to await the arrival of the Volage, in which ship the late commander-in-chief had resolved to proceed to England. At ten o'clock the next morning we weighed. Sir Gordon Bremer taking advantage of the opportunity to proceed to Macao, embarked with his suite to make arrangements with the plenipotentiary, as the admiral had not the power to turn his diplomatic authority over to the commodore, though Sir Gordon Bremer was eventually invested with those powers by the home government. Captain Charles Elliot for the time became the sole manager of the ulterior proceedings.

We anchored in Macao roads about two o'clock in the afternoon, where we found the Samarang. A bumboat quickly attached itself to the ship, and as we were a long way out, the owner seldom went on shore: his boat, besides being a bazaar, with a little of every thing, "served him for parlour, kitchen, and all," for himself, wife, and

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three or four little ones, who appeared as much at home as if they had been on *terra firma*. Indeed it is a very common thing to see these little brats rolling about the decks of the country boats with one or two empty calabashes tied to them, which, in case of their falling overboard, answer the purpose of life-buoys until they are picked up.

The anchor of this boat had but one fluke, and the stock, according to the Chinese fashion, passed through the crown instead of the shank; consequently, if it did not fall fluke down, it would not hold. On one occasion I was much amused at the unsuccessful attempts of our bumboat-man to make his anchor *bite*. Every time he failed the boat dropped astern, and as often gave his better half the labour of sculling up again. At length she dropped the oar, and running forwards seized the anchor from the old fellow, with an exclamation that I think might be interpreted, "Oh! you lubber," pitched it over, and certainly successfully; on which the poor crest-fallen

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husband sneaked quietly aft in the boat, silently admitting that his wife wore the *breeches.*

On the 3rd of December the Volage arrived from Manilla, on board which ship the admiral embarked on the evening of the 6th, and she sailed for England at daylight the next day. The commodore and plenipotentiary returned to the fleet at Chuenpee on the 4th, for which place we proceeded in the Modeste on the 7th, the Herald passing us on her way to relieve the Samarang at Macao, which ship was to reinforce the squadron off Chuenpee, where we anchored on the 8th.

Several chops had passed between Keshen and the plenipotentiary, but without any thing final being effected. Report said a hostile demonstration would be made on the 10th, but it passed off without any thing transpiring. On the 12th, the squadron moved nearer to the forts at Chuenpee, where they commenced watering at a small rivulet that discharged itself into the river on the south side of the point, near which a temple is

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situated, dedicated to the goddess* of those of the fair sex who are anxious to become "as ladies wish to be who love their lords," and whose more especial prayers are, that they may be favoured with a "bull child,"—the height of ambition of every Chinese mother. In fact, most wretched is every parent in China who has not a son to place his body in the tomb, and to offer up thereat yearly adoration. When the females approach the fane, they bring, according to

* The goddess Teen-fe, or Matsoo-poo, is also the deity of Chinese seamen. Her worship was originally introduced from Mechow, where her mother resided; who on being presented by the goddess Kwanyin with a flower of the fig-tree, swallowed it, and became pregnant. After fourteen months she gave birth to the goddess Fe, the air being perfumed with a powerful fragrance for a mile around. She has gained her nautical celebrity by having preserved her brother's ships from foundering in a typhoon, and is worshipped by the women for having granted a child to the prayers of a barren wife, who had in vain implored at the shrines of all the other Chinese deities.

She was subsequently, for services rendered to the court, declared the safeguard of the nation, the assister of the people, the excelling spiritual essence, the illustrious answerer of prayer, of enlarged benevolence, affording universal aid, the celestial Fe.

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their means, meat, fish, cakes, fruit, and a small pot of shamsoo with quantities of incense-paper and joss-stick. This joss-stick is lighted and allowed to burn before the image of the goddess. The worshipper then bows three times, expressing her petition; then kneels three times, kissing the ground as often; after which she burns the incense-paper, while an attendant beats a gong to arouse the attention of the deity. This part of the ceremony being completed, the devotee again kneels, and kisses the ground as before, when the ceremony is concluded by a present of cash to the priest. At this joss-house the priest made not the slightest objection to selling us a set of his gods.

On the 10th of December, Mr. Vincent Staunton, after a lengthened imprisonment, was brought into the presence of Commissioner Keshen, who ordered his manacles to be struck off, and expressed much regret at his seizure. He immediately released him, had a dinner and a lodging provided for him in his own house, and early the next

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morning caused him to be conveyed in a sedan-chair to a boat waiting to carry him to the British squadron, which he reached on the morning of the 12th.

This release, granted on the representation of her majesty's plenipotentiary, appeared kindly done, whatever might be the commissioner's secret motive for it; nor does it appear his imprisonment had been very severe. On his first capture he was closely interrogated by Lin and other high officers, to ascertain if he had been in any way concerned in the opium trade, of his total disconnection with which they seemed to be convinced. Instead, however, of being released, as he justly expected to have been, he was sent, as we have before shown, to the prison of Nanhae, where he was surrounded by scores of criminals, and was assured that more than a thousand were within its walls. A light chain was fastened round his legs to prevent his running away, and manacles were put on his wrists when taken before any of the mandarins. At the same time they provided him with any

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food he wished for, clothed him, and supplied him with Chinese books. No doubt much of this was owing to the kindness of his keeper.

During our stay at this anchorage a battalion formed from the marines of the squadron was constantly exercised on the small island of Sam-pan-chou, where they formed a very imposing and soldier-like body for the contemplation of the mandarins at Chuenpee, who were so soon, as it proved, to suffer from their prowess.

On the 15th, the surveying vessels, the Sulphur, Commander (now Captain) Belcher, and the Starling, Lieutenant (now Commander) Kellet, arrived from South America and the Eastern Archipelago. The officers of these vessels became actively employed in the river, and their services during the whole of the operations were of the greatest advantage to the squadron.

Rumours of wars continued to prevail, and it soon became evident to the most sanguine, that no terms would be obtained from Keshen until he was thrashed into

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them. Scaling ladders were now made on board all the ships preparatory to taking the forts by escalade. These ladders were formed of bamboo, twenty feet in length, with bars or steps lashed across them. They possessed the qualities of lightness and strength in a superior degree.

Friday the 25th arrived, and as Keshen was still playing his fast and loose game, a chop was dispatched to him to say that, if a satisfactory answer was not previously returned, hostilities would commence at noon, on Monday the 28th.

This approach to warlike measures rather enhanced the enjoyment of Christmas-day to those who were getting weary of procrastinating delays. It was observed in true old English style,—as far at least, as roast beef and plum-pudding would do it. Messrs. P. Hooker and Lane, general dealers at Macao, had long been fatting up a bullock for the occasion, and his carcase had for some time been marked for the different messes. The 24th had been passed by caterers and stewards in watching and misgivings as to the

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arrival of Hooker's schooner with the good things on board, and late at night they were much discomforted by an announcement that she had got on shore, and that it was quite uncertain when she would be up. At daylight, however, she appeared to rejoice our hearts, when, however, a general race of boats from all ships took place. Such cries as "Where's my sirloin?" "Where's my roasting-piece?" "Have you brought my rump?" "Mr. Lane, where are the currants?"—and a hundred other such requisitions. At length he managed to satisfy all their demands, and the boats returned to their ships, rich with the requisites for a Christmas feast, which by evening the cooks had served up in appropriate style. Good feeling and fellowship prevailed; many a little bickering was ended, and "a merry Christmas and a happy new year" drank to those far away. At the same time the comforts of the men were not lost sight of; all hands were permitted to enjoy themselves, though discipline and efficiency were not allowed to suffer. I am proud to say that in

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very few cases did the men forget that they might at any moment be wanted for service.

On the 26th, the Madagascar was dispatched to Macao to announce that hostilities were likely to take place; the Enterprise proceeding to Toong-koo to bring up the Madras native infantry. About noon the signal was made,—"Preparations to be made for service," and the ships bent their stern cables, knocked down bulk-heads, and cleared for action.

On the 27th, numerous telescopes were anxiously directed up the river to see if there was an appearance of a chop-boat; all being eager for the fight, and dreading a messenger of humbug. However, he arrived towards the afternoon, by which a stop was put to any further operations at the moment, to the disgust of all hands and the disappointment of many amateurs who came up to witness the expected fight, which they lost when it really did take place, as they fancied we were still "crying wolf."

One or two of the same sort of messages arrived, and an old mandarin at

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Chuenpee, who had been in communication with Captain Smith on former occasions, sent off a message to him as follows:—"My chin-chin Smith plenty much, can talkee my that day go makee true fight pigeon; put plum gun, killee plenty piece men; my go walkee other pigeon, then no can killee my." I do not know whether he got the desired information; but I do know that the last day of December, 1840, arrived, and we were no further advanced than we were at the commencement of the year, though the Chinese might be seen busily employed in strengthening their position of Chuenpee.

END OF VOL I.

LONDON:—HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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